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# THE COMMUNIST PARTY LINE

JULY 1958 -- DECEMBER 1958



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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
John Edgar Hoover, Director

**THE COMMUNIST PARTY LINE**

**July 1958--December 1958**

**January 1959**

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**Federal Bureau of Investigation  
United States Department of Justice  
John Edgar Hoover, Director**

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## PREFACE

The supporting quotations set forth in this monograph have been selected from authoritative communist publications to illustrate the position which the Communist Party, USA, has adopted on the principal current issues of international and national interest.

The publications reviewed in order to determine the viewpoint of the Communist Party, USA, included the newspaper The Worker, as well as the periodicals Political Affairs and Mainstream.

With reference to the transcription of the quotations which comprise a large portion of this monograph, only misspellings have been indicated by underlining. Underlining was not used to indicate errors in grammar, punctuation, spacing, or capitalization.

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

### A. Summary

The Communist Party, USA, in the field of international relations, continues to condemn the foreign policy of the United States as a threat to world peace. The Party has demanded that the nations of the West end their intervention in the Middle East and end their occupation of West Germany and West Berlin. Also, the United States, according to the Party, must not "meddle" in the dispute between communist China and CHIANG Kai-shek over Formosa and the offshore islands of the Chinese mainland. The United States should grant diplomatic recognition to communist China.

Communists still call for a summit conference to preserve world peace. They praise the Soviet Union for its newly announced seven-year plan for economic and industrial development. A ban on the testing of nuclear weapons is demanded by communists who complain that the United States is obstructing Soviet efforts to reach international agreement on such a ban.

The rise of General Charles de Gaulle to power in France and the defeat of French communists in recent legislative elections are called signs of growing fascism in that country.



In domestic affairs, the Party has been concentrating on the economic situation, saying that the recession is serious and typical of periodic failures of the capitalist system. The Party sees the November 4, 1958, election results as a defeat for "reaction" and a shift to "liberalism." In celebrating its 39th anniversary in September, 1958, the Party again calls itself a Marxist-Leninist party and claims that its influence is spreading. It has called for a peaceful transition to socialism in this country, but views that transition in terms of a dynamic concept with a revolutionary process under Marxist leadership.

Communists have condemned labor leaders for clinging to capitalist schemes to cure the economic crisis. They urge independent political action by labor and place on themselves the burden of trying to influence the labor movement to adopt a class struggle program. Political cooperation between workers and farmers is also urged.

The United States, according to the Party, is guilty of practicing imperialism in the Middle East and Latin America. At the same time, the anti-imperialist revolution against colonial domination is seen gaining throughout the world.

The Party has called for pressure on the newly elected Congress to insure it carries out the mandate of "liberalism" shown by the November

elections. The abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities is demanded in the fight against McCarthyism.

In the field of civil rights, communists clamor for strong Federal intervention, even by troops, in the Southern States. The reign of terror by bombing and violence in the South is called an American type of fascism directed against Negroes, Jews, and others.

The Party, in stating that women and young people have been greatly affected by the economic crisis, has called for Federal aid in the form of day care centers for children of working mothers as well as training programs for youth.

The Nobel Prize winning novel, Doctor Zhivago, by Soviet writer Boris Pasternak, is called an attack on socialism and is described as a book which is poorly written.

The Soviet Union is, as always, considered in communist publications as the defender of world peace, the guide of the working class, and the pioneer of socialism.

B. Conclusions

1. The Party, as in the past, can be expected to continue its persistent and specious demands for a summit conference and a ban on testing of nuclear weapons. Such demands have usually been accompanied by praise for the Soviet Union for its efforts toward peace and condemnation of the United States for obstructing fulfillment of world peace.
2. The Party appears to have set its aim on finding a "common ground" with the labor movement so as to best exploit what the Party calls a trend to "liberalism" shown in the November, 1958, election results.
3. The Party will probably continue to call attention to the economic situation in this country, claiming that the recession and unemployment are the so-called curses of the capitalist system. At the same time, the Party can be expected to point to the rapid economic and industrial development of the Soviet Union as a classic example of the socialist system.
4. The Party has shown that the issue of freedom for nations under imperialist domination will undoubtedly be emphasized with the purpose of disrupting and weakening ties of Western nations to those so-called dominated nations.
5. The continuing exploitation by the Party of the racial integration problems in this country is virtually certain. The Party is deceitfully trying to gain Negro support for selfish purposes and not for the benefit of the Negro people.
6. The Party appears to be reaching the end of a period of factionalist conflicts. It is now maintaining a pro-Soviet outlook and is loudly proclaiming itself a Marxist-Leninist party. As a result, a greater unity and an increased program of propaganda and agitation can probably be expected.

## **I. FOREIGN POLICY**

- 1. United States foreign policy with its emphasis on atomic and nuclear weapons development is a threat to world peace.**
- 2. A summit conference is necessary to settle issues threatening world peace.**
- 3. The United States is obstructing efforts of the Soviet Union to ban nuclear weapons testing.**
- 4. American proposals of private investment for technical assistance and loans to underdeveloped countries are favored by "Big Business."**
- 5. American agreement to protect CHIANG Kai-shek on Formosa and the offshore islands of China increases the danger of nuclear warfare.**
- 6. The Soviet Union, in a peaceful competition challenge to capitalism, has announced a seven-year plan to equal American economic development by 1965.**
- 7. Nations of the West, by violating the Potsdam Treaty, have renounced their rights to occupy West Berlin and West Germany.**
- 8. De Gaulle's betrayal of democracy in France indicates the danger of fascism exists in the world today.**
- 9. American intervention in Lebanon was an imperialist move in violation of the United Nations charter.**
- 10. The Soviet Union, despite its support of Israel's independence, condemns imperialist use of Israel to dominate Arab countries.**
- 11. The strength and support of the Soviet Union have advanced socialism and have prevented fascism from oppressing the world.**

## SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

### 1. U. S. Foreign Policy

"...it is a simple but fundamental fact, apparent to any real Marxist, that it is monopoly capitalism -- imperialism--which gives rise to the threat of war and to national oppression. And it is equally fundamental that socialist countries, which have no capitalists, can by their very nature have no interests other than the defense of peace and national freedom.

"This vital distinction is clearly reflected in the words and actions of leaders on both sides. Just as those of Dulles, on the one hand, have consistently served to promote aggression and the enslavement of other nations, those of Khrushchev, on the other hand, have with equal consistency served the cause of peace and national liberation.

"The Soviet Union, which has itself suffered grievously from imperialist aggression, has at no time been guilty of attacking another country. And today it stands out as the most powerful bulwark of the entire world camp of peace."

The Worker,  
October 5, 1958, p. 6.

"...It is imperative to understand that the United States Government moves more and more certainly not only in the direction of war-making, but also in the direction of committing itself to the employment of atomic weapons in war.

"Since 1954, the United States has adopted the position of considering so-called tactical atomic weapons as being in the 'conventional' arms category. In the past several years it has moved--together with Great Britain--in the direction of revamping its military tactics and strategy, and therefore its tables of equipment and organization, in the direction of atomic warfare. Once the huge military machine is committed, it develops a power and an inertia to change that are vast. The fact is that the reorganization of the American

armed forces from the high-explosive base of World War II to the atomic and nuclear energy base for its projected World War III is so well advanced that it now plays a significant part in predisposing the Government towards atomic warfare and opposing a ban on atomic-weapon development, let alone atomic-weapon disarmament."

Herbert Aptheker, "The United States and China: Peace or War?" Political Affairs, October, 1958, pp. 10-11.

"... UNFORTUNATELY on this, the 25th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between our country and the USSR by the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt, the present policy, begun by Truman and now carried forward in even sharpened form by Eisenhower and Dulles, is one that wishes to turn the clock back and still entertains dangerous illusions that socialism, in China and elsewhere including the USSR, is a temporary phenomenon. They do not merely hold such views philosophically; the cold war is a stark reminder that behind these views are the foreign policy, the military establishments, the alliances and the bases on foreign soil. This is at the bottom of the failure so far of all the conferences to banish the H-bombs and their testing and reduction of arms generally as well as the failure to reach agreements on all other outstanding differences."

Editorial, The Worker,  
November 9, 1958, p. 2.

## 2. Summit Conference

"NOTHING BEFORE MANKIND today begins to rival the importance of a successful summit conference for peace. World opinion polls repeatedly show that, including those taken in the USA. How much deeper that desire is today, in the midst of the fearful Mideast crisis, every thinking man can assess.

"Therefore, at this perilous moment in world history, when the balance can be tilted one way or another in the oil--soaked lands in question, the present form of Pres. Eisenhower's reply to premier Khrushchev's proposal is a cynical perversion of the very essence of a summit conference.

"Instead of laying the basis for give-and-take talks, Eisenhower's formula hots up the atmosphere, stacking the cards against calm and cool conclusions...."

"THE VOICE for peace -- for a genuine summit conference -- must be heard on every byway and crossroad. And we mean genuine -- under circumstances facilitating the chance of success.

"Resolutions, protest meetings, delegations to our authorities, municipal, state and federal, are unquestionably in order.

"Labor, in the first place, the Negro tenth of our people, the churches, municipal and civic organizations, every aggregate of America must head the voices for peace and speak out. Every candidate for office must be seen."

Editorial, The Worker,  
July 27, 1958, p. 2.

"OVERSHADOWING ALL OTHER questions on the agenda of the harried world... is the matter of a summit conference that would ease the explosive Mideast crisis.

"Premier Nikita Khrushchev's proposal for a meeting of the chief executives of the U. S., the USSR, Britain, France and India, and the secretary-general of the UN, received a stinging reply from President Eisenhower. Our President, travestyng the idea of a summit conference, nonetheless felt the world's pressures for peaceful solutions..."

"...Washington's response was that the heads of state meet under UN auspices, in the UN skyscraper, as part of the deliberations of the Security Council. This represents no few difficulties..."

"One top American security official is quoted as saying, 'If Khrushchev does come here, we'll have a tough time keeping him alive.' "

The Worker,  
July 27, 1958, p. 1.

3. Nuclear Tests

"If Great Britain and the U. S. A. were to announce the cessation of tests, the end to thermonuclear manufacture would be the next logical step. It would be infinitely easier to induce three States to arrive at agreement on nuclear disarmament than it will be to get a dozen to do so later."

The Worker,  
July 13, 1958, p. 14.

"WE NOW HAVE a proposal by President Eisenhower and Mr. MacMillan for negotiations on banning nuclear weapons tests, the negotiations to begin Oct. 31. We also have Premier Khrushchev's acceptance, made a week after the Aug. 22 offer.

"All this should be news for thanksgiving--if that were all to the story. Tragically, it is not all.

"Outside of some pious editorials in papers which have been cool to ending the tests, what were the reactions to Eisenhower's proposals? At home, we mean. We didn't notice any dancing in the streets, or crowds assembling to give prayerful thanks.

"It didn't take Mr. Khrushchev to show us the booby traps in Mr. Eisenhower's conditions. The Soviet premier set forth compellingly what he found wrong with them; our point is that the U. S. offer failed to evoke the enthusiasm that a genuine, no-strings-attached proposal would have excited here."



"When will the leading voices in our own labor movement break their virtual silence on tests? Surely now is the time for locals, district leaders and rank and filers to pressure labor leaders into action."

Editorial, The Worker,  
September 7, 1958, p. 2.

"...through all the jockeying and murkiness of Western maneuvers to prevent a permanent ban on tests, the following truths come through:

"1: Most of mankind wants an end to the overriding peril, wants it now, with no ifs, ands, and buts.

"2: Science has demonstrated that tests are detectable--despite the original Western pettifogging and loudly advertised skepticism to the contrary.

"3: The Western powers continue their weary round of arguments tying immediate and permanent suspension to numerous conditions--the institution of a 'detecting' system, and 'progress' on the multitude of disarmament questions.

"4: It must be recalled that every time the socialist bloc of nations agreed to certain contentions of the West on the reduction of armaments--both 'conventional' as well as nuclear--the West backtracked, stalled and protracted the possibility of agreements.

"THE FINAL FACT is this: world safety, its present well-being and that of future generations, demands an immediate ban on nuclear tests, and an end to the danger of nuclear warfare."

The Worker,  
November 9, 1958, p. 15.

"WORLD POLITICS zoomed to new highs last week with four major developments.

"They included:

"The Geneva conference of the USA, the USSR, and Britain to ban nuclear tests."

"...at the conference on banning nuclear tests, Washington refused to accept the Soviet proffer of an immediate and eternal ban. Dulles insisted on discussing knotty and long-drawn out questions of disarmament and controls before ending H-tests."

The Worker,  
November 16, 1958, p. 1.

#### 4. Foreign Aid

"...President Eisenhower, in a speech at Seattle, outlined a five-point program 'of expanded trade, technical assistance, and loans to help raise economic levels in needy regions.'

"This program was outlined at the first meeting in the U.S.A. of the Colombo (Ceylon) Plan Consultative Committee--a West backed set-up dealing with economic matters in South and Southeast Asia.

"Eisenhower stressed expansion of private investments, a 'more suitable' climate for them. 'The resources of American private capital,' he said, 'are far larger than the amounts which our Government can provide.'

"There is no question that this perspective is one that imperialistic Big Business favors. There is no question either that the vast majority of Asian peoples are leery of Wall Street bearing gifts."

The Worker,  
November 16, 1958, p. 14.

"What was the net result of the recent state visit of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, Prime Minister of Ghana..."

"...Washington's non-committal reaction to Nkrumah's request for U.S. assistance toward financing the big Volta River project came as no surprise.

"The key sentence regarding this undertaking...was to the effect that the U.S. would 'consider how it might assist with loans if the required private financing were assured.' The implications are clear. Washington's help may be forthcoming if--and only if--U.S. corporations find the terms of investment in the Volta scheme to their liking."

"...The point, of course, is that such investment capital is attracted to countries which are devoid of political democracy, to countries where popular consent to the terms of foreign investment does not have to be reckoned with. And so it follows that the U.S. finds itself embroiled in trying to prop up tottering regimes around the world."

The Worker,  
August 24, 1958, pp. 7, 11.

##### 5. Communist China

"The Secretary of State, in his best church-going manner, cites the 'solemn obligation' imposed upon the 'honor' of the United States to support Chiang Kai-shek because of treaty commitments, notably the alliance of 1955, and the consequent Senate Resolution authorizing the President to use American military force to protect Chiang's hold on Taiwan and the Pescadores. He appears horrified if one suggests that the existence of the treaty and the Resolution do not put at rest all arguments opposed to his China policy."

"Dulles' treaty with Chiang has no more moral and legal force than did the treaties Hitler made with the 'Protector' of Moravia and

Bohemia. Moreover, concerning that treaty, and particularly its invocation to justify the Quemoy-Matsu line, there is more than the suspicion of fraud and deception...."

"The Dulles-Chiang treaty is a moral monstrosity and a legal fraud and needs to be discarded together with its author; the Senate Resolution was obtained through deception and has been stretched to cover measures either never envisioned or specifically barred by that Resolution itself."

Herbert Aptheker, "The United States and China: Peace or War?" Political Affairs, October, 1958, pp. 12, 13, 14.

"Our country and the world face the serious danger of a catastrophic nuclear war arising out of the explosive situation in the Taiwan Straits.

"This new and grave threat to world peace stems directly from the aggressive policies of American imperialism, from the reckless course pursued by the adventurist monopoly circles around the Rockefellers, whose chief political representative is Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, supported by a pliant president and a blustering ex-president.

"The provocative and bellicose course which the Administration pursues towards China is no accident; it is official policy. During the height of the Lebanon crisis, our State Department instigated Chiang Kai-shek's mercenaries to step up their military harassment of Chinese shipping and attacks in the areas of Amoy and Foochow."

The Worker,  
October 12, 1958, p. 12.

"Our government must be made to accept the verdict of world opinion that the representatives of China's 600 million liberated people shall be seated in the UN, and be extended normal diplomatic recognition and participation in all conference at the Summit. It must be made to promote, not obstruct, normal trade and cultural relations with the Chinese people.

"Surely, it is in the true American traditional interest to outlaw atomic warfare and to make 600 million new friends for the United States. And, yes, perhaps also to secure 600 million new customers for American goods and products, thereby providing employment for many of America's 5 1/2 million jobless men and women."

The Worker,  
October 12, 1958, p. 13.

6. Soviet Seven-Year Plan

"The socialist world threw a new challenge to capitalism--the most far-reaching and breathtaking challenge yet--a seven-year plan by the Soviet Union to boost its output 80 percent and bring the living standards of the Soviet people to the highest in the world by 1970... That isn't all. Premier Nikita Khrushchev in making public the seven-year plan for discussion, prior to approval by the 21st Communist Party Congress Jan. 27, said it envisages that the world's socialist lands will produce more than half the world's output by 1965...."

"THIS IS a peaceful competition challenge to capitalism and can be a tremendous lift to the workers of the capitalist countries. Already, in many capitalist countries, the workers are able to point to socialist advances and to capitalists who are fearful of growing socialist influence. In the next seven years socialist advances will be a factor even in the U.S., whose workers still top all others in average wages."

The Worker,  
November 23, 1958, p. 1.

"IN THE LAST 41 years the Soviet people, having defeated all their enemies within and without, after defeating the early intervention by the armies of almost all imperialist countries, and then defeated the Hitler hordes as allies of our country in the second world war, have now on the basis of the unprecedented rate of growth achieved economic, scientific and cultural advances which place them in the van of social progress.

"This growth has taken a new spurt as a result of the self-criticism and the correction of errors made in the latter days under Stalin signaled by the historic 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Now the coming 21st Congress to be held next January is to set goals which by 1965 are to achieve economic, scientific and cultural goals at double the pace first set, and to place the USSR astride or even to surpass the U.S. in economic development."

Editorial, The Worker,  
November 9, 1958, p. 2.

7. Germany

"THE BELLICOSE, stand-pat posture of the Western powers on divided Berlin--and divided Germany--was severely shaken this past week after Prime Minister N. Khrushchev's proposals that the four occupying powers make the metropolis a free, demilitarized city, possibly under UN temporary aegis. The Soviet leader also suggested a six-month period in which East and West can talk things over and come to agreements.

"It is generally understood that the prime danger of world war can come from tensions over West Germany--now back in the hands of the Krupps and unreconstructed Nazis. The proposals come, significantly, as the U.S. authorities are about to hand West Germany shipments of Honest John and Matador missiles that can be fitted with nuclear warheads...."

"The fact is that the settlement of the Berlin issue is inextricably tied up with the full German settlement, but it is certainly clear that the latter can more easily be reached if long-standing strains in Berlin can be ended."

"ULTIMATELY, the biggest bone of contention in settling the German question is the matter of re-unification...."

The Worker,  
December 7, 1958, pp. 1, 15.

"The issue, as Khrushchev put it, was, in brief, that the military occupation of Berlin by the U. S., France and Berlin and the USSR be ended, and that civil government be established by the German Democratic Government.

"His joint statement issued with Premier Gomulka, of Poland, warned that the West had aided in the revival of German militarism, and thereby had abandoned the Potsdam treaty which called for German denazification and demilitarization.

"SINCE POTSDAM, the world has seen the return of monopolies like Krupp to power, the very forces that brought Hitler to office. The wheels of German industry are mightier today than Britain's, or France's, and they have been encouraged to turn out a flood of weapons. Furthermore, Bonn will soon have all nuclear arms, if Western plans materialize."

The Worker,  
November 30, 1958, p. 3.

"Khrushchev indicated that the West had violated the provisions to denazify and demilitarize Bonn Germany. Circles far beyond the Communists have expressed profound concern at the restoration of Nazis to high political office in the Adenauer government, and that the former Hitler power had rebuilt a mighty war industry."

"Khrushchev said reunification of Germany was a matter that the German people--East and West--must determine for themselves and that it cannot be decided, for them, by the occupying powers. Washington, instead of discussing the issues on their merits, rattled its sabre, saying the West is prepared 'to fight to defend West Berlin's freedom.' "

The Worker,  
November 16, 1958, pp. 1, 14.

8. France

"A reactionary, authoritarian government headed by De Gaulle has been imposed on France by treachery and violence..."

"...The French crisis, precipitated by the Algerian War, demonstrates anew the poisoning effect of racism; it shows how the oppression of one people by another seriously weakens the democratic capacities of the oppressing people...The French events bring home dramatically that the most aggressive and chauvinist circles of monopoly capitalism naturally move, in our day, towards fascism; it emphasizes the reality of the danger of fascism, and war, in the present-day world..."

Eugene Dennis, "The Struggle for Peace,"  
Political Affairs, August, 1958, pp. 18-19,  
20.

"The De Gaulle constitution paves the way to perpetuate De Gaulle in dictatorship and for those to come, like Soustelle, who was evidently being groomed as De Gaulle's successor.

"The Constitution cancels such guarantees of the 1946 Constitution as union rights, the right to work, the right to strike, equal opportunity for education in nonreligious free schools.



"The National Assembly is rendered impotent; the president could even dissolve this assembly when he felt it hindered him.

"It becomes virtually impossible to carry a non-confidence motion against the government, which will be appointed by the President.

"THE DE GAULLE constitution remained silent regarding Algeria, and therein is its Achilles heel. For this problem cannot be solved without providing independence."

The Worker,  
October 5, 1958, p. 16.

"THE RUN-OFF polls which Gaullist-led France called an election produced a French Chamber of Deputies that even many non-Communist Frenchmen indicate is a grotesque mockery of the democratic process."

"Most damning and revealing of the betrayal of the democratic process was the number of deputies accorded to the parties with the largest number of votes.

"The Communists, for example, who received over one in five votes--will have a bare 2.1 per cent of the deputies--ten!

"This is the way the Gaullists rigged it when they scuttled the proportional representation system."

The Worker,  
December 7, 1958, p. 3.

9. Lebanon

" 'The sending of American armed forces into Lebanon is an act of aggressive imperialist intervention in the internal affairs of that country. It menaces the national independence and sovereignty of all the Arab nations. Like the invasion of Egypt in October 1956, it threatens to plunge the entire Middle East into armed conflict.' "

" 'This action is the inevitable fruit of the Eisenhower Doctrine which, in the interests of the oil trusts, calls for interference in the affairs of the Middle East nations, by-passing the UN and violating its charter and principles.' "

" '...we American Communists... say "hands off Lebanon, Iraq, Jordan and all other Middle East countries.' "

" 'We demand that removal of all American military forces from Lebanon and the Middle East.

" 'We call for abandonment of the Eisenhower Doctrine, an end to bypassing of the UN and adherence to the principles of the Bandung Conference regarding peace and national sovereignty.

" 'And we urge the speedy convening of a summit conference of the big powers, including the United Arab Republic and India, to effect a peaceful settlement of the Middle East situation and all other outstanding questions.' "

The Worker,  
July 20, 1958, p. 3.

"THE CAREFULLY-PLANNED attempts of the State Department to make the world forget that the U.S. has a formidable, nuclear-equipped war machine on the shores of the eastern Mediterranean has not made a very substantial impression either in the General Assembly or in the world outside."

"The President's unusual renunciation of the leading role of the U.S., in proposing that Mideast economic development be dominated by the Arab countries, plus his failure to mention any proposed specific U.S. funds for such a program, were evidence to many that the program is a fly-paper document to catch the unwary."

The Worker,  
August 17, 1958, p. 1.

#### 10. Soviet Union and Israel

"... The fact is that the Soviet Union has unequivocally defended the rights of all nations. When the occasion arose, it fought for the establishment of an independent Jewish state in Palestine and aided Israel in establishing its independence. In recent years it has reaffirmed its support of Israel's independence, along with that of all other Middle East nations.

"There is no conflict between Soviet support of the Arab liberation movement and the principle of working-class unity. If it simultaneously opposes the present policies of the Ben Gurion government, it is simply because these policies serve the interests of imperialism in its efforts to dominate the Arab countries."

"Zionism is a reactionary nationalist movement which seeks, in alliance with imperialism, to 'solve' the Jewish question through the establishment of a Jewish national settlement as a 'homeland' for Jews everywhere. Today it looks upon Israel as that 'homeland.'

"It regards the gap between Jew and non-Jew as unbridgeable, and anti-Semitism as eternal. It sees no hope in fighting to end discrimination and achieve full democracy for Jews in the countries in which they live. It therefore serves to isolate the Jewish masses, as aliens in their own countries, from the democratic and socialist movements and to bind them rather to the big Jewish capitalists and to the forces of imperialism.

"World Zionism worked in collusion with British imperialism to open Palestine to Jewish settlement at the expense of its Arab population. And today its exponents who control the policies of Israel maintain that country as a tool of American imperialism in the Middle East."

The Worker,  
October 12, 1958, pp. 6, 11.

#### 11. Pioneer of World Socialism

"THE SOVIET UNION was the epic pioneer of socialism in the world. Its presence and growing strength have changed the balance of power and created a bulwark behind whose protection many great changes have occurred-- the liberation of vast China from its feudal chains, the upsurge of the Arab peoples, and the peoples of Africa and Asia.

"Would India have been able to liberate itself without this mighty bulwark?

"Without the presence of the Soviet Union, the world would have been all fascist today.

"FASCISM is the martial law that capitalism uses in its great crises. It is a permanent feature of capitalism, and now it is coming back strongly, years after Hitler was crushed."

The Worker,  
October 12, 1958, p. 8.

"NOR IS THIS ALL. With the fullest support and assistance of the USSR socialism is now being built in countries constituting more than one-third of the world's people with the great Chinese people of 650,000,000 making unbelievable progress in all directions in their year of the 'great leap'.

"These great achievements of the socialist world are having a profound influence on the struggle and aspiration of all peoples everywhere who yearn for freedom from oppression and for an end to exploitation, all who wish to be free and independent and to advance towards social progress.

"This is seen today in the struggle of the people in Asia, Africa, Latin America as well as in the struggle of the working people and their allies in the more advanced capitalist countries. In the latter the existence and strength of the socialist world is a direct aid to the struggles of the working people for economic and social gains."

Editorial, The Worker,  
November 9, 1958, p. 2.

## II. DOMESTIC ISSUES

1. Statistics refute Administration election claims that the economy has recovered from the recession in which workers continue to suffer.
2. The November 4 elections resulted in a "strong shift" to "liberalism."
3. Unemployment figures show that greater armament production does not mean prosperity.
4. The labor movement should demand more financial benefits from the Government.
5. Control of monopolies should be exercised by the unions and other "people's forces."
6. The Communist Party, USA, is again increasing its influence as it passes its 39th anniversary.
7. The Communist Party, USA, is a party based on Marxism-Leninism.
8. The present "depression" is indicative of the periodic failure of the capitalist system of profit.
9. The peaceful transition to socialism is a dynamic concept requiring a revolutionary process guided by Marxist leadership.
10. The forces of peace are growing stronger as criticism of the FBI rises.

## SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

### 1. The Economic Picture

"NEW DATA coming to light refute some of the election campaign 'political statistics' on the economy that the President and others in the administration have been handing out for the headlines.

"One example of the artificial optimism was the claim in October by the administration, on the basis of a claim by the President's Council of Economic Advisors, that gross national production has reached a rate of \$440 billion annually recovering three fourths of the loss of the recession. The latest Commerce Department figures show the estimate of the rise to be a billion less."

The Worker,  
November 30, 1958, p. 16.

"The February meeting of our National Committee was correct when it singled out the deepening economic crisis as the decisive feature of the American scene...since then, the impact of this crisis on all facets of national life...have taken clearer shape.

"Already severe inroads have been made on the wage and living standards of the working class as a whole. Caught in the scissors of growing layoffs, virtual elimination of overtime pay and spreading part-time pay on the one hand, and rising living costs on the other, real take-home pay has been sharply reduced...At the same time there are several million families in which the breadwinner is totally without employment. Of these a large part, either ineligible for unemployment compensation or having exhausted their payments, have been reduced to a level near the despised relief standards of the '30s...."

Bob Thompson, "On the Work and Consolidation of the Party,"  
Political Affairs, August, 1958, p. 37.

"The present growing depression, with its shattering anew of illusions of 'permanent prosperity,' is greatly sharpening the class struggle. The impact of mounting unemployment tends to dispel the atmosphere of class collaboration and to heighten the workers' militance...."

National Committee, CPUSA, "A Policy for American Labor," Political Affairs, August, 1958, p. 16.

"THE NATIONAL BUSINESS SHOW is haunted by a spectre of no business!

"Convening at New York City's futuristic Coliseum, the 50th annual showplace of the office equipment corporations, is 'running scared' before the recession; with salesmen literally pulling potential customers out of the aisles, gimmicks galore, and girls in tights to entice the tired businessman."

"BLITHELY ignoring the quiet desperation of the salesman at the National Business Show, the U. S. I. S. (United States Information Service) is filming the corporate shindig. This State Dept. propaganda will then be shown in 'more than 400 cities in foreign countries'. Using 'pre-selected' exhibits, the film's director states the film will be made 'according to the needs of the USIS'.

"It is not explained what this means. I imagine it means that the film will not interview the same businessmen I interviewed.

"For in the office equipment industry, the corporations, exhibitors, and salesmen don't seem to believe the publicity their own publicity men have been proclaiming--about the recession being over. If they don't believe their own publicity, why should I?"

The Worker,  
November 2, 1958, pp. 8-9.



## 2. Election Results

"THE ELECTION results have been examined and appraised. It is acknowledged by those who welcomed or disliked the results that they spell a strong shift to what is commonly called 'liberalism.' While the Republican Party, main party of big business and reaction, was given a smashing blow, it was its extreme McCarthyite, labor-hating right wing that suffered the main blow.

"Were the people given a real choice in the South, the extreme Right of the Democratic Party, too, would have felt the trend. The best sampling of the southern trend came in Virginia where Dr. Louise Wensel, (white), running as a pro-integration protest candidate against Sen. Harry Byrd, with neither money, organized party nor much opportunity to make a campaign, drew a third of the state's votes, most of them Negro but including some whites."

"Every Senate and House member, and the administration, should be reminded the people voted for--

"Elimination of the filibuster. This will be the first test of the kind of Congress we really have. For a real civil rights program.

"Real measures to meet the still continuing economic crisis, to provide jobs, more adequate jobless benefits, for a health program, \$1.25 minimum wage, expanded housing and the rest of the domestic social-economic program.

"A policy of peace, serious negotiations for disarmament, an end of atomic tests and of Dulles brinkmanship.

"Restoration and preservation of constitutional liberties and rejection of moves to curb the Supreme Court; restoration of labor relations on the original Wagner Act principle and elimination of all 'right-to-work' laws."

Editorial, The Worker,  
November 16, 1958, p. 2.

"...some conclusions stand out most emphatically. And they stand out especially because of the sweep and vigor in the verdict of the people Nov. 4.

"...THE EISENHOWER administration's foreign policy and its effort to give it a 'bi-partisan' character, has been repudiated....

"...THE RESULT was a protest against the Administration's pro-big business economic policy and its do-nothingism in face of the sharpest economic crisis since the war, the second under Eisenhower...."

"...THE VOTERS repudiated most emphatically the President's cry against 'radicalism' in the Democratic Party, and the movement sponsored by leading Republicans in alliance with the Dixiecrats, for legislation to nullify or cripple the Supreme Court's rulings affecting the Smith Act and civil liberties and jimcrow practices."

"...THE VOTE revealed clearly that the Eisenhower myth has run its course. The lustre has worn off his 'Modern Republicanism', and beneath it, as so well demonstrated in Eisenhower's campaign speeches, there is nothing but the familiar reactionary rust of big business capitalism. The people have obviously learned much since the days when Eisenhower's coat-tails carried a 'Cadillac cabinet' into Washington."

Editorial, The Worker,  
November 9, 1958, p. 1.

"THE DEMOCRATIC SWEEP through the country represents a repudiation of the policies of the Eisenhower Cadillac Cabinet.

"It is a protest against the lack of action to stave off the effects of the continuing depression with its close to five million presently unemployed.

"It reflects opposition to the Eisenhower policy of 'going slow' on integration while schools, churches, synagogues and temples in the South are bombed by racists.

"It shows decisive and overwhelming opposition to the attempts to shackle the labor movement further through the McClellan Committee and Right-to-Work laws.

"It represents a growing desire to change our foreign policy from the insecurity of brinkmanship expressed in military ventures in Latin America, the Middle East and China, to the relative security of negotiation and agreement."

"THE ROCKEFELLER victory is a defeat for the New York labor movement. Both the executive and legislative branches of the state government are now controlled by the Republicans. This could very well mean a revival of the anti-labor bills which were passed by the previous state legislature and vetoed by Harriman, the introduction of other reactionary legislation and the blocking of labor's legislative program."

The Worker,  
November 16, 1958, p. 3.

### 3. Armament Production

"It is time to abandon support of a 'defense' program that not only provides no defense but is a prime cause for increasing tension abroad and taxes and inflation at home. In a world of H-bombs, peace based on co-existence is the only real security. Moreover, the notion that armaments production means prosperity is being exploded by the mounting unemployment in the face of the forty-odd billions now being spent on arms. Labor cuts the ground from under its own feet when it supports a policy which swallows two-thirds of the national budget at the expense of schools, hospitals, and social welfare."

National Committee, CPUSA, "A Policy for American Labor," Political Affairs, August, 1958, p. 7.

#### 4. Social Welfare Benefits

"Labor's program is lacking in important respects. Some points require greater emphasis and concreteness, while other essential elements are missing. These include:

"...Every unemployed worker should receive at least two-thirds of his previous earnings for as long as he is unemployed...."

"...The vague or inadequate proposals so far advanced must be replaced by a clear-cut set of demands based on increasing personal income tax exemptions to at least \$1,000."

"...There is growing need for legislation establishing a moratorium on mortgage and other debt payments, and protection against foreclosures and evictions."

"...Depression hits older workers with particular severity. A fight must be waged against discrimination in hiring because of age. Retirement ages should be reduced and social security and other pensions substantially increased."

National Committee, CPUSA, "A Policy for American Labor," Political Affairs, August, 1958, pp. 4, 5.

#### 5. Monopoly Control

"...Something new is demanded in the way of anti-monopoly action, that will defend the people from the effects of economic crises and of the mounting concentration of economic power...."

"We all know how government controls under the anti-trust laws, the various regulatory agencies, and government-owned projects like the atomic energy industry, have in practice redounded to the benefit of the monopolies and against the interests of the people... Also, the regulatory agencies of the government, which are supposed to administer utility rates for the benefit of the people, have actually followed the monopoly-dictated policy of high prices, granting one rate increase after another.

"It is obvious, of course, that as long as these controls are administered by government agencies under the complete domination of monopoly they will function exactly in the way they have--in the interests of monopoly and its policy of regimenting the entire economy to serve its aims....

"The essential thing is to approach the problem from the ground of continuous mass struggle to impose the kind of reforms that will allow for democratic controls by the unions and other people's forces over the operation of monopoly, much as labor and social reforms are won as a result of the pressures of the labor and popular movements...."

James S. Allen, "Some Key Elements of Party Program," Political Affairs, October, 1958, pp. 56-57.

6. Communist Party, USA, Anniversary

"September, 1958, marks the 39th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party in the United States."

. . . . .

"In the nearly forty years of its existence, our Party has been deeply identified with the battles of the workers, the Negro people, the poor farmers, and of every exploited, oppressed group. It pioneered in the fight for industrial unionism and gave yeoman service in the building of the CIO. It conducted brave and victorious battles against labor racketeering. It led the momentous struggles of the unemployed in the Great Depression of the thirties, and fought for unemployment insurance when the AFL branded it as 'communist.' "

. . . . .

"Our Party pioneered in the struggle against the fascist menace and in the fight for peace. We gave everything for victory against fascism in World War II. Following the war, we fought staunchly against McCarthyism and particularly against the Smith Act persecutions--a fight which has culminated in major victories. And we continued, even at the height of the cold war hysteria, to uphold the banner of peace.

"Today our Party is emerging from a severe crisis, both ideological and organizational. It has firmly re-established its Marxist-Leninist bearings and is beginning, slowly but surely, to resume its place in the economic and political life of our country. It has begun a process of rebuilding and consolidation of its ranks. Its influence is beginning again to grow."

National Education Department, CPUSA,  
"On the Thirty-Ninth Anniversary of the  
CPUSA," Political Affairs, September,  
1958, pp.38, 39.

"In all these years and in the face of many hardships and persecutions, while some grew tired and departed, the Communist Party has remained true to its principles and traditions. It is indestructible because it is flesh and blood of the working people of our land, is guided by the science of Marxism-Leninism, practices self criticism and strives to correct and overcome error and weaknesses. It is today emerging from a severe and protracted crisis, uniting its ranks, and taking steps forward in the direction of mass struggles.

"The economic crisis, international developments, the struggle of the Negro people, the attacks on the hard-won gains of labor, all show that our country too must one day take the road to socialism. One billion people of the world are already moving forward along that road. In this spirit we greet the Communist Party and urge all workers, progressives, to unite in struggle for peace, greater economic security, equal rights and democratic liberty."

Editorial, The Worker,  
September 21, 1958, p. 2.

7. Marxism-Leninism

"The Communist Party of the U.S. received congratulations from fraternal parties throughout the world last week on the 39th anniversary of its founding...."

. . . . .

"FROM THE Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union..."

. . . . .

" 'The Communist Party of the USA, true to the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, has gone through a glorious path of struggle for the living interests and democratic rights of the American people and all the toiling masses of the USA.' "

. . . . .

" 'The Communist Party of the USA has overcome many great hardships. The enemies of the working class have attempted on many occasions to undermine the ranks of the party and aimed to destroy it. But the U.S. Communists have frustrated their attempts.

" 'They are persistently fighting to strengthen the unity of party ranks, to ground the party on the foundation of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism.' "

The Worker,  
September 28, 1958, p. 3.

"...The Communist movement is the fruition and complete expression of Marxism. Lenin is the greatest of all modern Marxists, and the Communist leaders are following in his and Marx's footsteps. Marxism-Leninism is leading humanity to a new world."

The Worker,  
December 14, 1958, p. 11.

8. Capitalism versus Socialism

"...One of the symptoms of the final decay of capitalism is that it no longer has any vision and hope to offer to the people. Its arts are imbued with the colors of death. Its scientists are the soulless flunkies of the billionaire war-makers. Its statesmen and philosophers see a future for America of only two alternatives: another vast depression or a nuclear war."

The Worker,  
September 14, 1958, p. 8.

"Ours is a country rich in resources with an industrial capacity that is the envy of the world. Our workers are famed for their know-how, their unexcelled productivity.

"The present depression once again sharply brings home to all thinking Americans that 'something is rotten' not in the state of Denmark but in our own country."

"More and more, workers will come to the conclusion that what's rotten in our country is the capitalist system run by and for a handful of billionaire businessmen.

"They will realize that our vast industrial capacity and tremendous ingenuity, which under a system that produces only for profits becomes a periodic curse, under socialism will be a permanent blessing."

"Poverty, disease, juvenile delinquency, racial intolerance, not to speak of the periodic scourges of war and depression, can be things of the dark past.

"Such a vision, the majority of American labor will learn in time is not a dreamer's 'utopia'...



"With typical American common sense, they will one day conclude that there must be something to socialism if it can transform a once semiliterate nation like the Soviet Union into the scientific and educational leader of the world."

National Committee, CPUSA, "A Policy for American Labor," Political Affairs, August, 1958, p. 17.

"...Socialism is not just a political and industrial force--it is also the fulfilment of the dreams of the great prophets and fighters of history, all of whom sought social justice and the creative peace that will come when man has learned to live in collective harmony...."

The Worker,  
December 7, 1958, p. 8.

"...Socialism takes the negative out of 'No Help Wanted'. One social security we will not need in a socialist America is unemployment insurance."

The Worker,  
July 20, 1958, p. 6.

#### 9. Peaceful Transition to Socialism

"...the concept of peaceful transition is dynamic, a concept of class struggles and strategic alliances aimed at monopoly and carried out in the interests of the entire nation. We cannot present the question as if the favorable world trend toward socialism or the possibilities of extended peaceful coexistence amount to a guarantee of peaceful transition, as is sometimes done. World conditions may indeed enhance such a possibility, but the guarantee can only be established in the process of the struggle against monopoly and reaction at home. Therefore, when we project the perspective of a peaceful transition, even presenting it as an historic

aim and duty, we should always begin with and return to the necessity of the struggle to win and preserve the prerequisites for such a development: The working class and its people's allies, in the process of building up their alliance and gaining the support of the people as a whole, will have to fight monopoly in order to keep open and broaden the democratic channels against the constant trend by monopoly to regiment our society and militarize the state. Without such a struggle, the aim of 'peaceful transition' is meaningless; moreover, it may become deceptive.

"What is of particular importance here and now is to guard against a sloganized concept of 'peaceful transition' that ignores its revolutionary content, and has the effect of stifling the will to struggle which is so precious to the working class and a working-class vanguard party. Peaceful transition is a revolutionary process that requires revolutionary Marxist leadership, and a fine fighting mettle on the part of all anti-monopoly forces."

James S. Allen, "Some Key Elements of Party Program," Political Affairs, October, 1958, pp. 48-49.

"The revolution of 1776 has never been completed. The Worker advocates its completion now and the completion of the historic tasks that are the property of progressive America. These are tasks in the fight for world peace, the peaceful co-existence of all peoples, the suppression of colonial tyranny, the freedom of the working class and its ascendancy to power."

"Those who hate the very thought of revolution are desecrating the sacred memories of our splendid yesterday. Loud were their praises in 1776, still louder their arguments as to why they now stand unalterably opposed to revolution and unequivocally behind the tottering colonial empire builders, behind the Batistas, the South American dictators they have brought to power, the racists of the United States."

The Worker,  
July 20, 1958, p. 15.

10. Peace Forces Rising

"...PEACE is still a major offense on the FBI's calendar."

"ONE MIGHT THINK that Hoover is happy in his power and glory. His annual budget is 50 times bigger than when his witch-hunting career began. His army of spies and provocateurs is as large as an Army Division. And he has been almost immune to criticism, outside of the left wing press, for decades.

"...opposition to Hoover is rising in his own class. Thus Cyrus Eaton, the Cleveland bankers, denounces the FBI's 'Gestapo' tactics. And some liberals are speaking out. The Nation, for example, attacked the 'deification' of Hoover in a full-length study of the FBI on October 18.

"But, best of all, Socialism is winning. And the strength of the Peace forces rises day by day. And a new world of Peace and Plenty is coming for sure."

The Worker,  
November 16, 1958, p. 7.

### III. LABOR AND INDUSTRY

1. Current mass unemployment, the result of a "boom-bust" cycle in capitalist production for profit, has affected millions of workers.
2. The voters in November rejected the demand for more curbs on the labor movement, including the "right-to-work" amendment.
3. The recent union mergers on a state level can give the labor movement added strength and impetus.
4. The Senate's McClellan Committee labor racket hearings are part of the antilabor drive.
5. Labor leaders continue to cling to capitalist schemes as answers to the economic crisis.
6. The labor movement should develop independent political action, ending its adherence to the two-party system.
7. The Communist Party, USA, must influence labor to adopt a strong class struggle program.
8. Automation must be used to benefit workers, not harm them.
9. The labor movement must join the Negro people to win their mutual battles for constitutional rights.
10. American labor leaders should permit delegations of workers to visit the Soviet Union.

#### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

##### 1. Unemployment

"THE NATION is once again in an economic crisis. According to conservative estimates, more than five million are unemployed. Millions more are on short work weeks. In the past year and a half, industrial production has fallen nearly 15 per cent...."

"This is not a temporary decline. We are in for a prolonged period of depressed conditions and mass unemployment...."

"Layoffs, loss of overtime, and short work weeks have eaten seriously into take-home pay...."

"Not so long ago, the economy was booming. Industrial capacity was being expanded as if the sky alone was the limit... There was, of course, no such growth in the consumer market... As a result of the unbridled expansion overproduction and surplus capacity rapidly developed, production was cut and workers were laid off. The boom ended and the slump set in. The age-old pattern of boom and bust, an inevitable feature of capitalist production for profit, repeated itself."

National Committee, CPUSA, "A  
Policy for American Labor,"  
Political Affairs, August, 1958, pp. 1, 2.

"... Latest Department of Labor data show that since the start of the emergency unemployment program last summer, allowing unemployed an extra 50 percent (usually 13 weeks) of unemployment checks, 1, 532, 000 had filed emergency claims. Of these more than 1, 100, 000 had already been knocked off the rolls, having exhausted the emergency aid. That means that they have been unemployed in almost all cases 39 or more weeks...."

"Those figures reflect in part the large number whose resources, including saving accounts, were drained during the year...."

The Worker,  
November 30, 1958, p. 16.

## 2. Labor Curbs

"3. THE BALLOTS rejected emphatically the No. 1 campaign issue of the Republicans--their cry of 'labor racketeering,' the demand for more curbs on the labor movement, with Walter Reuther as their main target....

"The Republicans also chose to tie their national campaign to the right-to-work amendments vote in six states. From the results it would appear their tactic had the contrary effect of arousing to greater action a labor movement that has been politically stagnant in recent years. The amendments were defeated in four states, notably the two major states--California and Ohio.."

Editorial, The Worker,  
November 9, 1958, p. 1.

## 3. Union Mergers

"The unification of the AFL and CIO joint convention in December, 1955, came from the top. Beneath the general merger there was no unity in the 48 states and hundreds of cities, most of which still have separate central bodies.

"THE ENTHUSIASM and hope that came with the national merger has undoubtedly worn off in the past three years. There is great disappointment because the promised organizing drives, more effectively organized political action, unity for major common bargaining objectives, have not come up to expectations.

"The merger in New York, therefore, and the final steps in Pennsylvania, California, and several other of the major industrial holdouts on the merger, where unification is now under way, can have the effect of recharging the labor movement for a fresh impetus.

"An upswing is a stronger possibility today than was the case at the time of the 1955 national merger when labor's position was at an ebb and the employer attack was picking up steam. Today labor is on the upgrade as a result of the resounding election defeat suffered by the foes of labor; the further setbacks to McCarthyism; the mounting struggle for civil rights; a rise in the economic struggles; and the extension of the unification process to the states and cities.

"The labor movement, therefore, has a fresh opportunity to make good on the program set forth in the 1955 AFL-CIO merger convention...."

The Worker,  
December 7, 1958, p. 1.

#### 4. Antilabor Drive

"AT THE START of the current series of McClellan Committee hearings, the Worker pointed out that they were timed to accomplish several anti-labor objectives:

"To influence and press for congressional enactment of new drastic anti-labor legislation. The result has, in fact, been partly achieved with Senate passage of the 'reform' bill with the endorsement of Meany. But Congress killed even that bill because even more drastic legislation is sought by the NAM.

"To discredit labor's influence in the political campaign. A good example of what Racket committee headlines can do was the loss of the nomination for Congress by Carl Stellato, Ford, Local 600 president by a vote of 21,050 to 27,842 for the incumbent. During the week of the primary, Detroit papers screamed of the Keirdorf 'human torch' case. That type of publicity smearing ALL labor may have been decisive in defeating Stellato.

"To weaken labor, especially the auto workers, in current bargaining. The companies have not budged from their position.

"To further the campaign for more 'right-to-work' laws, In Ohio, California and five other states the foes of labor have obtained the needed signatures to put the measure on the ballot.

"To pressure the leaders of the AFL-CIO into open warfare against the powerful Teamsters and other unions, ostensibly as the way to keep the 'racket' charge from themselves. This is now also taking shape."

"...there is no effective force against racketeering either within... unions expelled or within the AFL-CIO itself.

"The leaders of the unions expelled for corruption are skillfully appealing for unity in their organization against the attacks, which they rightly point out are directed at the union. Hoffa is getting such unity notwithstanding the racket committee's exposures of much unrefuted corruption.

"Within the AFL-CIO, corrupt elements are taking full advantage of the division in labor to do as they like. The AFL-CIO top leadership's authority is not frightening to them these days. A rank and file movement against corruption, the only force that could be effective has not yet come up with strong enough force."

The Worker,  
August 24, 1958, p. 15.

"The labor haters and their investigators, as had been proven over time and again, are not interested in a clean labor movement. They want a divided labor movement--one they can defeat and smash.

"The union-busters have achieved substantial success already by knocking out such important prop from the AFL-CIO like the Teamsters. They are close to knocking out the Carpenters' prop as labor faces the task of mobilizing its forces for the followup of the election to get Congressional delivery on the election mandate.



"Instead of more division, we need restoration of unity--readmission of all unions outside AFL-CIO ranks. The AFL-CIO should be big enough to both tolerate differences in its ranks and find its own ways to deal with corruption."

Editorial, The Worker,  
November 23, 1958, p. 2.

5. Labor Leadership

"McDONALD, Reuther, and the leaders of the other unions suffering a tremendous job loss parallel with a rise in productivity, are loudly proclaiming their bewilderment by the 'paradox,' but they refuse to acknowledge, that the basic cause is the capitalist system of production and distribution for profit....

"I wouldn't expect McDonald, Reuther or any of their associates to concede that the capitalist profit system is at the bottom of the problem. But it is their failure to realize that basic fact that also prevents them from mobilizing the kind of a movement of the workers that could now wrest from capitalism some concessions and mitigation of the effects. They play with illusions that some capital-labor schemes could be discovered to eliminate growing unemployment.

"They ignore the historic and costly experience that it is the organized and militant mass activity of the workers that brought such concessions like unemployment insurance, social security, a minimum wage, shorter hours, supplementary unemployment benefits, and severance pay...."

The Worker,  
September 28, 1958, p. 11.

"The economic crisis found the leaders of labor inadequately meeting the demands of the situation because of 1) their illusions in a crisis-free 'people's capitalism,' 2) their commitment to an armaments program as a main prop against unemployment, 3) their routine reliance on smart lawyers and clever negotiations, and 4) their failure to take steps to close the growing gap between themselves and the rank and file.

"Following a class-collaborationist line, most labor leaders have resisted mobilization of the rank and file and the launching of mass struggles. Hence the offensive has been surrendered to Big Business, which is using it to the full.."

"What is vitally needed is to project a course of action that will meet the Big Business offensive with a militant counter-offensive by labor and its allies."

National Committee, "A Policy for American Labor," Political Affairs, August, 1958, p. 3.

#### 6. Political Independence

"The Hoover-like line of the Eisenhower Administration, the do-nothing attitude of the Democrat-controlled Congress, and the growing menace of the Dixiecrat-Republican alliance--all these emphasize afresh the need for greater independent political action by labor...."

"...labor... must eventually break with its adherence to the present two-party system. Communists will strive for labor's complete\* political independence, 'for in the long run the working class and its allies will have their own anti-monopoly coalition party capable of bringing about the eventual election of a people's anti-monopoly government.' (Main political resolutions, 16th National Convention, CPUSA.)..."

"An important step toward this goal would be the building by labor of its own independent political action machinery in the communities, much along the lines already advocated by the UAW. Through such machinery,

\*Underlined portion is italicized in the original text.

labor can work effectively for any\* candidates of its choice, independent as well as on the Democratic or Republican tickets."

National Committee, USA, "A Policy for American Labor," Political Affairs, August, 1958, p. 11.

"...It is becoming increasingly apparent that in America, while the labor movement is stressing political action in 'general' as never before, there is no recognized perspective for this political action beyond the old Gompers objective of 'rewarding friends and punishing enemies' within the two-party framework.

"Many in labor are beginning to feel that the limited Gompers objective, even with a more active participation by the members of unions, has pretty much reached a dead end. There is more interest in a course for greater independence."

The Worker,  
September 28, 1958, p. 7.

## 7. Communists and Labor Movement

"The Communists strive to win the trade unions to a more consistent program of class struggle and militant action in defense of the immediate interests of the working class. To achieve these objectives, they join with other Left forces in the ranks of labor."

"Communists are called on to contribute to preparing the trade union movement for the battles ahead, to putting it into fighting trim, to reviving the crusading spirit of the thirties. Communists must help stimulate mass struggle and rank-and-file activity to impel the labor movement forward to fight the depression, to win the 30-hour week at the same pay, to organize the South, to oust racketeering and business unionism, to complete the unification of the labor movement. Communists must work to impel labor to

\* Underlined portion is italicized in the original text.

play its proper role in the struggle for peaceful coexistence and in the fight for Negro rights. And they must strive to bring about labor's fulfillment of its leading role in welding a broad people's anti-monopoly movement."

National Committee, CPUSA, "A Policy for American Labor," Political Affairs, August, 1958, pp. 14, 16.

"...The central function of our Party is that it is the only organization on the American scene which, on the basis of an advanced science, understands the totality of the workings of the capitalist system and of the relationship of classes within it. It is the only organization in a position to properly relate the present level and immediate demands of the working class and its allies with the historic and objectively determined goals of that class. It is the only organization because it is a party of its class\* which is in a position to give comprehensive direction and a broad orientation to the Left and progressive currents arising out of the immediate struggles of the period. Our Party is not a Party of one segment of the working class. It represents the interests of the whole class in its activities in all facets of national life, in its activities in relation to the trade-union movement, the Negro people's movement, the youth movement, the women's movement, in the electoral field. It brings into the working-class movement the scientific outlook of Marxism-Leninism, and imparts to the working class on the basis of its own experience and struggles a socialist consciousness."

Bob Thompson, "On the Work and Consolidation of the Party," Political Affairs, August, 1958, p. 48.

#### 8. Automation

"Automation cannot be permitted to be the private preserve of monopolists, under the cover of 'management rights' contract clauses which prohibit unions from 'interfering' in production. A struggle is required for retraining of workers at company expense, protection of seniority, safeguarding

\* Underlined words are italicized in the original text.

of standards and wages in the skilled crafts, higher wages for workers operating automated equipment, guarantees against elimination of Negro workers, prevention of speed-up, and other measures to protect the interests of workers threatened by automation.

"Above all, labor should insist that automation should result in a shorter work week, not a shorter work force....

"The thirty-hour work week is not a mere anti-depression measure. Like the establishment of the eight-hour day, it is a step of historic significance for the entire working class. It is a major goal for organized labor in the coming period, a goal which will be won only over the all-out resistance of big business. Communists will do all they can to encourage and support this basic struggle.

"...Communists will seek to educate workers on the differences in the effects of automation under capitalism from those in a socialist society, where it does not deprive workers of their jobs but truly means more leisure and higher living standards for all."

National Committee, CPUSA, "A Policy for American Labor," Political Affairs, August, 1958, p. 8.

9. Labor-Negro Unity

"Were labor to see fully the mutuality of interests that it and the Negro people have in defense of constitutional rights; were labor, hard pressed by white supremacists' demagogy in the Senate's Racket Committee hearings, to cement unity with the Negro through a joint struggle for human dignity and rights, the moderates would be marching down Pennsylvania Avenue in defense of the Constitution."

"In defiance of the Supreme Court and the human rights of Negro Americans, the white supremacists have mobilized every branch of the state government. They have strengthened the instruments of terror. To the Ku Klux Klan, already strengthened through Smith Act terror, has been added the 'respectable' White Citizens Councils, comprised of business and professional men and women. In Congress, racist reaction has its Senators Eastland and Talmadge and those who voted to curb the Supreme Court. Negroes have the advice of those who say 'depend upon the high court, even though it cannot enforce its decisions.' Militant democratic actions are taboo."

"But the fight can be won for liberty, justice, and peace. It is a major feature of the battle for constitutional liberties and rights in the U. S., an inseparable part of a world-wide struggle against colonialism."

The Worker,  
September 7, 1958, pp. 5, 14.

"Negro workers have been more than doubly hit by unemployment and discrimination. Long barred from white-collar, professional and skilled occupations which are less affected by the depression, they are now being displaced in large numbers from steel, auto and other basic industries. Even their tenure of those undesirable jobs usually 'reserved' for Negroes is being threatened...."

"With the proper initiative of labor, a powerful coalition with the Negro people can be built, directed against the mutual foes of both--the big trusts and their Dixiecrat allies. But without such unity, labor cannot win the big battles which lie ahead."

National Committee, CPUSA, "A Policy for American Labor," Political Affairs, August, 1958, pp. 9, 10.

10. Visits to Soviet Union

"Does it make sense, Mr. Meany to stubbornly close our eyes to a trade union federation that now embraces more than 50 million Soviet workers as members? Can you imagine so great a mass of unionists held in 'bondage' as not having a life and function that should interest Americans?"

"But the position of isolation from the American people the leadership of labor follows, is matched by the wide gap between the AFL-CIO and the rest of labor of Western countries. The British, French, Italian, Canadian, Latin American, Scandinavian, and almost all other unions, have not put a ban on delegations to the USSR...."

. . . . .

"Mr. Meany, I sincerely hope that this stubborn blindness and deafness to reality will end in our trade unions; that we too will get in stride with the rest of the world. The AFL-CIO's position in becoming increasingly untenable. It should face up to the situation and send a delegation itself to the USSR or lift its ban on affiliates from doing so."

The Worker,  
November 9, 1958, p. 7.

"FOR FORTY years, first through Samuel Gompers, then William Green and finally through Meany, the AFL (and now the AFL-CIO) has been held to a policy of attacking the USSR as a land of 'slave labor' and 'government-operated' unions. Those slanders built up over the years, have become the basis of the reactionary officialdom's McCarthy-like weapon against trade union progressives.

"Meany's refusal to permit trade union delegations to the USSR is based primarily on the fear that, seeing the truth, even by his close friends, would crumble the base on which rest the internal witchhunt policy of many unions and their foreign policy outlook."

The Worker,  
July 13, 1958, p. 7.

#### IV. AGRICULTURE

1. Political cooperation between farmers and workers is necessary to fight the monopolists.
2. A program for farmers should include, among other things, low-cost loans and crop insurance.

#### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

##### 1. Farmer-Labor Unity

"...what should be the attitude of workers in the United States toward the farmers?"

"Instead of inciting urban consumers against the farmers, as Benson urges, the workers would do better to try to make common cause with their should-be farm allies against the monopolies."

The Worker,  
October 19, 1958, p. 15.

"Political cooperation based on mutual economic interests and interdependence between labor and farmers has helped to register big gains in the past, notably in states like Minnesota and Wisconsin. Recently, such coalitions have fought jointly against passage of 'right-to-work' laws and in support of farmers' demands for full parity. In such industries as farm equipment and meat packing, labor and the farmers have made common cause against the squeeze of the trusts."

National Committee, CPUSA, "A Policy for American Labor," Political Affairs, August, 1958, p. 11.



"...While building our party, we also urge the great mass of workers and farmers, the Negro and Puerto Rican peoples, who may not be ready to accept our program of socialism, to free themselves from the Democratic and Republican Parties, by forming their own political party, a farmer-labor party, an anti-monopoly people's party. We urge such a party and would vigorously support it."

The Worker,  
October 5, 1958, p. 4.

2. Program for Farmers

"WE ADVOCATE..."

"10. Help family type farmers keep their farms. Provide low-cost loans and universal crop insurance. Reduce taxes. Protect rights of agricultural workers to organize, to have decent working conditions, and wages."

The Worker,  
October 5, 1958, p. 4.

## V. COLONIALISM

1. The anti-imperialist revolution is advancing in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.
2. Western imperialism is attempting to halt the trend towards Arab unity in the Near East and Asia.
3. American imperialism in the Middle East and elsewhere is based on American oil interests and other investments.
4. Imperialism is losing out in Africa as Western colonial empires are pushed aside.
5. The future of France lies in solving the Algerian liberation question.
6. American imperialism has taken mineral and other resources in Chile.
7. The United States has backed Batista, Cuban dictator.
8. Dominican Republic dictator Trujillo has friends in Wall Street and the State Department.
9. Ireland has fought English colonial and capitalist domination for 700 years.
10. Israel must adopt a policy of Arab-Jewish friendship and equality to save itself from disaster.
11. The United States intervened in Lebanon to keep Moslems from gaining their independence.
12. Malaya is oppressed by Western imperialism.
13. Mexican Government attacks on communists in Mexico are reminiscent of McCarthyism.

14. Rockefeller money is invested in Puerto Rico for "super-profits."
15. Rockefeller interests in Venezuela backed the former dictatorship of Perez Jimenez.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Anti-imperialist Revolution

"Closely related to the Socialist revolution, is the anti-imperialist revolution which is roaring ahead in so many countries. This is outstanding in the political life of Asia and Africa, and is also beginning to be so in Latin-America. Developments in the middleEast in this respect are daily becoming more sensational. Today's press of the world is filled with big headlines, signalizing the rapid development of the colonial liberation movement in the middle-East, with Iraq, Jordan, and Lebanon the latest to become involved in this great struggle."

. . . . .

"The imperialists may well be alarmed at the developing situation in all the countries which they only so recently held in their imperialist control as subject peoples.

"This swift advance of Socialism, and of the anti-imperialist revolution, is quickening the rot which was already far advanced in the capitalist system...."

The Worker,  
July 27, 1958, p. 6.

## 2. Western Imperialism versus Arab Unity

"NEWS DISPATCHES pile up which reveal that all Western imperialism... is increasingly subsidizing pliant generals to try to subvert the swiftening trend toward Arab unity--and the people's movement in Moslem and Hindu Asia for sovereignty and independence.

"Outright military intervention, taking over governments, has taken place in the predominantly Moslem countries of the Sudan, and Pakistan... The British, through their kinglet, Hussein, are conniving to regain full power in Jordan...."

"ALL THESE REPORTS are glimpses into the intrigue of Western imperialism--British, French, and American--into the life of the Near East and Asia...."

The Worker,  
November 23, 1958, pp. 3, 14.

## 3. American Imperialism and Oil

"The practice in dominant American circles, assisted by the revolutionary and anti-colonial traditions of our country, has been to deny the existence of an American imperialism...."

"... certain it is that imperialism--and in the forefront American imperialism--has not yet been embalmed. It exists and has existed for over fifty years. It is today more virulent and active than ever before; an especially potent ingredient in it is petroleum. The imperialism of oil giants--their aggressive searching for resources, their efforts to dominate transportation, refining and marketing, their interconnections with government, and their insistence that government actively support and further their own private interests--has been a fact, especially in connection with Great Britain, France and the United States, since some years prior to World War I."

"...one cannot separate the oil of the Mid-East from the companies that own it, because that is the actual, real and living interest which exists right now. And the presence of instability in the world today, and in the Mid-East in the first place, is a characteristic of the situation as it now is, i. e., with the private, profit-making ownership of the oil. There is instability in the Mid-East and there is private, exploitative ownership of the basic resource of the Mid-East; these two facts are causally connected. To remove the instability now afflicting the area it is necessary, to begin with, to remove the private possession by alien, profit-making corporations of the basic wealth of the area."

Herbert Aptheker, "Ideas in Our Time,"  
Political Affairs, August, 1958, pp. 54, 55, 58.

"...Dulles, Eisenhower and their kind are not speaking the truth when they claim that it is for the purpose of saving this country from the 'reds' that they send American boys to Lebanon or to Venezuela, and today are actually inviting a war with China and the Soviet Union. They are sending American boys all over the world to safeguard the Rockefeller oil and other investments with which American imperialism has kept the colonial and semi-colonial world in poverty and misery."

The Worker,  
October 5, 1958, p. 10.

"...Dulles' policy is ruining our nation's name everywhere--making it the equivalent of the worst of imperialism anywhere in the world."

The Worker,  
August 24, 1958, p. 1.

#### 4. Africa

" 'THE WEST'S colonial empires are going down faster than they went up. In Africa especially. It's just 60 years since Winston Churchill was riding Sudan warriors down as a young cavalry officer...."

"That was in 1898. But the 'pro-West' Government of Sudan has been swept out of office in 1958. And where is Churchill's Nile Empire now?"

"IT'S TOO EARLY to tell what the new Sudan government will do about many things. But one thing seems sure. The sun of imperialism is setting in Africa today."

The Worker,  
December 7, 1958, p. 7.

"...now the U.S.A. is a financial power in Africa too. The Rockefellers and Morgans are exploiting tens of thousands of the continent's workers. But the Morgan-Rockefeller power is due to pass too. For history shows that empires rise, and then fade away, while the people go on forever."

The Worker,  
December 7, 1958, p. 10.

##### 5. Algeria

"The Algerian liberation movement grows, and its increased strength is evidenced by the formation of a Government-in-Exile, situated in Cairo. The solution to this colonial question is a major key to the future of the nation whose imperialist governors have sunk billions of francs and stationed the bulk of its U.S. equipped army in Algeria to wage a bloody and unsuccessful war against the colony that wants its independence.

"The North African generals and their billionaire-backers precipitated the French constitutional crisis last May after years of conspiracy."

The Worker,  
September 28, 1958, p. 3.

6. Chile

"If there is a country in Latin America where American imperialism has actually grabbed mineral and other natural resources, and has been barred from doing business with any nation except the U. S., that country is Chile:

"This has created one of the worst conditions of unemployment and low wages...."

The Worker,  
August 10, 1958, p. 10.

7. Cuba

"THE U. S. GOVERNMENT is continuing to provide military aid to the Batista dictatorship in its civil war against the Cuban people despite an official embargo on arms shipments to Cuba imposed by Washington last March 14."

"DETAILS of the Eisenhower Administration's military intervention in Cuba's civil war are contained in a remarkable document that recently arrived in the country...."

"THE PAMPHLET containing the message also publishes the text of Raul Castro's Military Order No. 30, issued June 22, calling for the detention of certain U. S. citizens in the territory under his command. This order also denounces Washington's role, declaring that 'so-called "mutual aid" and "continental defense" are criminal pretexts to cover up the immoral aid which (the U. S. government) has been giving the Latin American dictatorship in order to have them serve its economic interests.' "

The Worker,  
November 30, 1958, p. 7.

"...the imperialists and their agents among the opposition are stepping up their divisionist maneuvers. They are trying to save the Batista regime because, as is well known, the principal prop of that regime, backed by the government of the U.S. and the North American imperialist enterprises in Cuba with gas bombs, amunition, instructors, political help and financial resources, has been divisionism."

The Worker,  
December 28, 1958, p. 10.

8. Dominican Republic

"...Just as a Trujillo depends on his Wall Street and State Department friends -- (and don't be misled by their making faces at each other just now because of the antics of Trujillo, Jr., in this country -- the anti-Trujillo movement inside and outside of Santo Domingo need the understanding and assistance of the masses of the U.S. and other countries in the common cause against imperialism."

The Worker,  
August 31, 1958, p. 10.

9. Ireland

"IRELAND'S history is a 700-year record of English oppression from its earliest colonialist stages to modern capitalist imperialism...."

"Books in Review," Mainstream,  
October, 1958, p. 59.

10. Israel

"Israel as an entity in the Middle East will live and can live in accordance with Bandung. It can and will live by action which rectifies the



unforgettable atrocity of tearing one million innocent Arabic men and women from their homes and hurling them into fearful suffering, and by action which bases itself upon Arab-Jewish friendship and equality at home and outside its own limits. Should Israel continue to pursue the policy of being a tail to the kite of France or England or Dulles, nothing will save it from the disaster that is manifestly imminent for the Dulles-Macmillan line.

"The line of reaction is the line of national catastrophe for Israel as for every other state in the world."

Herbert Aptheker, "Ideas in Our Time,"  
Political Affairs, September, 1958, p. 55.

11. Lebanon

"The 2nd Battallion of the 2nd Regiment of the 2nd Marine Division stands, as we write, in Beirut, Lebanon's capital, ostensibly to protect American citizens and to 'defend' Lebanon--against its own rebelling populace...."

The Worker,  
July 20, 1958, p. 1.

"...it is inevitable that the Arab world will regard us as the sharp spearhead of imperialist intervention. The delegate of the United Arab Republic made that abundantly clear in his UN speech when he pointed out that the United States had voted for the June 11 resolution on no-invasion, and then unilaterally violated its own vote.

"And why did we intervene? Because the Moslem world, like all colonial peoples, are finally determined to regain their independence--not to live miserably as pawns for monopoly profits. And we intervened against nations--like Iraq--that wish to abide by the principles of Bandung: for the right to live in their sovereign nations, for the right not to be browbeaten, starved, shot...."

"For what? Mothers and fathers of our sons may well be asking. For Standard Oil? For Socony Vacuum? For the British oil interests, the French? The stench of oil hangs over the entire proceedings and no human nostril can ignore it."

Editorial, The Worker,  
July 20, 1958, p. 2.

12. Malaya

"'Problems of the Malayan Economy' is a series of radio talks broadcast over Radio Malaya in 1956 as part of a course in economics for adults...."

"The radio talks do not go far in seeking a way out of the oppression that is Malaya's lot under imperialism. Some of the talks reflect the fact that the earth is quivering under colonialism. And Gamba points out that 'Malayan labor -- quite naturally -- compares its standards of living and wages no longer with surrounding under-developed areas, but with those obtainable, say, in British and elsewhere in the West.'

"Undoubtedly, it also contrasts the continued subjection of its nation by the West, with independence of China."

The Worker,  
August 24, 1958, p. 10.

13. Mexico

"THE COMMUNIST PARTY called on President Adolfo Ruiz Cortines of Mexico last week to release 'all working class, anti--imperialist and political refugee prisoners.'

"In a telegram to the president, Eugene Dennis, national secretary, on behalf of the party's national executive committee, expressed shock at the 'attacks being carried out' by the Cortines government 'against workers' organizations trade unions and the Communist Party.'

" 'The breaking into office, the illegal detention of leaders of the workers' movement, the mass round-up of political refugees from such countries as Spain, Cuba, the United States and other countries remind us of the terror of Batista and Jiminez and the McCarthyite attacks against liberty in our own country,' Dennis said.

"He reminded the president that McCarthyism has been repudiated by millions of Americans.

" 'Terror cannot suppress the just demands of the people who fight to ease their conditions of daily life. Only Wall St. imperialism greets with sympathy these reactionary attacks as it wants to suppress the liberties and independence of countries and peoples.

" 'Our sympathies have always been with the working class and the common people of Mexico and against Wall Street imperialism and the reactionary collaborators.' "

The Worker;  
September 21, 1958, p. 3.

#### 14. Puerto Rico

"SOME PUERTO RICANS have grown enthusiastic over the candidacy of Nelson Rockefeller for governor...."

"Their number one argument is that the Rockefeller interests have invested money in a private housing development and a luxurious golf club in Puerto Rico.

"But the Rockefeller interests have invested in Puerto Rico for the same reason that they have invested in other colonial and semi-colonial countries: for the super-profits they get from their oil exploitation in Venezuela and Lebanon, or from their war industries."

"Many of Nelson's Puerto Ricans backers, who up to yesterday were opposed to American capital investments displacing Puerto Rican capital, are all of a sudden very much pleased that another American investor--Nelson Rockefeller and family--is coming to Puerto Rico to add a few millions to their billions."

The Worker,  
September 21, 1958, p. 10.

15. Venezuela

"A naive person in Venezuela--and naive people are getting scarcer and scarcer in Venezuela--might be grateful to Nelson Rockefeller and his family for their investments in oil. But this naive person should realize that the Rockefeller interests were backing the Perez Jimenez dictatorship to the very end to protect their property in 67.8 per cent of all the oil produced in Venezuela."

The Worker,  
September 21, 1958, p. 10.

## VI. LEGISLATIVE AND JUDICIAL AFFAIRS

1. Grass-roots pressure must be exerted on the new Congress to prevent failure to follow the election mandate.
2. Recent decisions of the United States Supreme Court can be protected only by upholding the rights of labor, Negroes, and communists as a whole.
3. McCarthyism is still a threat to peace and civil liberties.
4. Labor leaders have failed to spearhead the attack on anticommunist political persecution.
5. Persons wishing to join the Communist Party, USA, should not be subject to persecution or threat.
6. Amnesty should be granted imprisoned Smith Act victims.
7. The right to travel abroad must not be restricted under the guise that communism is a menace.
8. The House Committee on Un-American Activities should be abolished.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Pressure on New Congress

"THE COMPOSITION of the new Congress reflects much of the voting. Most of the rabid enemies of labor, civil rights and civil liberties are out. New and younger people, committed to the program of the loose labor-Negro-farmer-liberal coalition or trend that swept them into office, make up a large part of the fresh composition."

. . . . .

"THE BIG QUESTION now for the organizations representing the populist sentiment that forced the big change on Nov. 4 is: where do we go from here? What can we do to force a realization of the mandate?"

"It is clear that unless the forces of the people continue the force and swing of the election in an organized way to press for their mandate, the next Congress, too, can prove a big let down."

"PRIMARY attention must be turned to joint conferences of labor, civic, church, farm and Negro organizations to mobilize grass-roots movement. Petitions, delegations to congressmen, and other organized expressions can be more effective now than during the closing 'last ditch' days of Congress."

Editorial, The Worker,  
November 16, 1958, p. 2.

"CONSPIRACY to steal the Nov. 4 victory from the people is taking shape in Washington. The plotters are the 'moderates'--the Johnson-Rayburn-led Democrats and the Eisenhower Republicans. Those two groups, counting on the solid support of the racist anti-laborite Southerners and on the shrunken ultra-reactionary northern Republicans, are working to rally enough votes to block the program upon which most of the new top-heavy majority was elected to Congress."

"Faced with a mandate for expansion of housing, school construction, welfare and other domestic needs, the President hastily proclaimed his determination to keep down expenditures, and the Rayburn-Johnson group pledged him support."

The Worker,  
November 30, 1958, p. 3.

2. Protection of Rights of Labor, Negroes, and Communists

"...the inescapable fact is that the constitutional rights and liberties of labor, the Negro people and the Communists will stand or fall together and must be fought for in unity as a single and inseparable whole. The new ground which has been won in the recent decisions of the Court can be held and further advances made only if this basic truth is recognized and acted upon. The elements of a program of action are clear:

"Invoke the full powers of the federal government to enforce the school decisions and punish violators.

"Defeat legislation to override the decisions of the Court.

"Abolish the Eastland and Walter Committees.

"Repeal the Smith, Internal Security, Communist Control and Walter - McCarran Acts.

"Defeat federal anti-labor legislation and state 'right-to-work' laws.

"Repeal the Taft-Hartley Act and restore labor's right of peaceful picketing."

Arnold F. Robler, "The Supreme Court and Democracy," Political Affairs, November, 1958, pp. 13-14.

3. McCarthyism Threat Remains

"THE SURVIVAL of the world now depends on what is happening in the average American mind. If the average American can be terrorized into believing that Russians are devils with horns out to conquer America, then the world suicide will take place.

"There are mighty forces in America working for this suicidal war. And McCarthyism has muffled every voice of peace, made the idea of peace seem almost like a form of sedition."

The Worker,  
November 9, 1958, p. 8.

"THE ACTION of the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals, Richmond, Va., in upholding the second conviction and 6-year sentence of Junius Scales is a blunt reminder that we are not out of the McCarthyite woods."

"The Circuit Court's decision is the more outrageous since it follows a whole series of cases where the government has confessed that it could not comply with the Supreme Court's rules of evidence as set forth in the Yates case and decided not to re-try the cases.

"The Yates decision is as binding on the Scales case as it was in the Michigan Smith Act case where the six defendants were freed six years after their indictment.

"We hope that the high court will speedily compel the Department of Justice to discontinue its persecution of Scales."

Editorial, The Worker,  
October 12, 1958, p. 2.

#### 4. Anticommunism of Labor Leaders

"...while the past year has witnessed a significant reaffirmation of individual liberty by the federal courts and public opinion, the trade union leadership still persists in its denial of the right of legal existence to Communists and Left-wingers. Paradoxically, though the trade unions have



played an important part in rolling back the McCarthyite tide, they have in this respect succumbed to its vicious influence."

National Committee, CPUSA, "A  
Policy for American Labor,"  
Political Affairs, August, 1958, p. 15.

"... although the American people have unmistakably demonstrated their revulsion against the extremes of McCarthyism, there has been nothing approaching a mass demand to end political persecution. Initially, the Communist Party stood almost alone in resisting repression, and its warning that defense of the rights of Communists is the first line in the defense of the constitutional liberties of all Americans went unheeded. Even today, when McCarthyism has made this truth self-evident, the demand by non-Communists for such measures as an end to Smith Act prosecutions, abolition of the witch-hunting committees and the lifting of passport restrictions has, in the main, been confined to a limited group of clergymen, professors and other progressive intellectuals. Organized labor, the necessary spearhead of a broad popular movement, has stood on the sidelines, hog-tied by its leaders' support of the Dulles foreign policy and by the militant anti-Communism which they practice in their own unions."

Arnold F. Robler, "The Supreme Court  
and Democracy," Political Affairs,  
November, 1958, pp. 11-12.

5. End Persecution

"MANY ISSUES must be tackled in our state during this election."

"DEMOCRACY MUST be strengthened..."

"This election should start a campaign to repeal all witch-hunting and thought-control laws affecting schools, civil service, summer camps, the jury system, and the right to a job.... Every person who desires to join the Communist Party must feel free to do so without fear of persecution, reprisal or threat."

The Worker,  
October 5, 1958, p. 4.

6. Amnesty Campaign

"All convictions under the Smith Act should be expunged from the record under Supreme Court decisions, including those of persons who have already served their sentences...."

"...Green and Winston can and should be freed forthwith as a simple elementary act of justice...."

"...write a letter today to President Eisenhower, urging him to act at once on behalf of Green and Winston. This is the least the Government owes the Smith Act victims -- after 10 years of persecution."

The Worker,  
August 17, 1958, p. 9.

"HENRY WINSTON and Gilbert Green are today the only political prisoners still serving terms under the Smith Act."

"While many real criminals have been granted amnesty by Pres. Eisenhower he has not heeded the plea for Winston and Green voiced by many prominent Americans.

"Now there is a real possibility to win parole for them. They become eligible this October upon completion of one third of their 8-year prison term.

"Parole is normally granted in the federal prisons to the overwhelming majority of first offenders. In view of the circumstances in these cases, failure to grant parole would not only be the sheerest discrimination, it would be an act of vindictiveness on the part of the Government against these two loyal fighters for Peace."

"Help secure the support of prominent citizens and organizations in your community. Urge them to write to the Parole Board, and write yourself, requesting the granting of parole to Winston and Green...."

The Worker,  
September 7, 1958, pp. 8, 9.

"**LESS THAN THREE** weeks remain to Christmas--less than three weeks to make this Christmas a merry one for two men who have spent almost ten years as prisoners or political refugees.

"They are Henry Winston and Gil Green. On Thanksgiving eve a federal board turned down their plea for parole."

"...We urge all our readers to write or wire now, urging the President to amnesty two innocent Americans...."

Editorial, The Worker,  
December 7, 1958, p. 2.

7. Right To Travel Abroad

"THE McCARTHYITE gang in the State Dept. has resumed the no-travel campaign where Rep. Francis Walter, House UnAmerican, left off when Congress adjourned.

"The sound-off came from Roderick L. O'Connor who operates as the Administrator of the State Department's Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs.

"The equal rights of all to travel abroad would 'represent a real danger to the security of the U. S.', said O'Connor...."

"In any event, it is no business of the State Dept. where these Americans go, whom they talk to, or what they say. The Supreme Court has made that abundantly clear five months ago. It should be made equally clear to the new Congress that the U. S. wants no return to the days when the McCarthyites could determine who could travel, and to where."

Editorial, The Worker,  
November 23, 1958, p. 2.

"REACTIONARIES in the several branches of government will leave no lie unused if they think a blow can be dealt the Communist even though it be at the expense of constitutional government."

"The right to travel is supported by the Charter of the United Nations as well as by our Constitution. That right must not be subject to the criminal whims of reaction under guise that such action protects the people from a Communist menace...."

The Worker,  
November 30, 1958, p. 6.

8. Abolish House Un-American Activities Committee

'DURING the past two months, the Un-American committee stepped up its activities, centering the fight against the Supreme Court on a number of issues but highlighting the attack against the desegregation decision. This became the point at issues in the Atlanta hearings in July and by many devices in the Los Angeles and Newark hearings. These hearings also serve notice that the committee intends to spearhead legislation against the Supreme Court.

"...the growing opposition in all walks of life to this committee can also mean that a first point on the agenda of the next Congress should be to abolish this infamous committee...."

The Worker,  
September 14, 1958, p. 15.

## VII. ARMED FORCES

1. American monopolists see armament production keeping business activity and profits at a high level.
2. Former military and governmental officials, including advocates of a large defense system, are now in top positions in defense industries.
3. Appropriations for school and housing construction are kept low while appropriations for arms production are increased.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Armament Production

"THE MODERN 'merchants of death', as they used to be called, have been disguising some of their superprofits under a slick Madison Avenue type of public relations. But the fact of their massive profits is clear to those who follow the business magazines.

"The extraordinary profits in war work were made clear, for example, by a recent compilation of Fortune magazine of the largest manufacturing companies in the U.S. in 1957.

"It pointed out that the two main munitions industries--aircraft and electronics--were the star performers in 1957. It reported that for the six big companies in the aircraft industry sales rose 32 percent and profits by 21 percent."

"With military spending increases, and with armaments already accounting for about 25 percent of the profits of the largest 100 industrial corporations in the country, they see a bright future in the bombs and missiles business."

The Worker,  
November 23, 1958, p. 7.

"IT IS FALSE TO SAY the American monopolists--and these are the 'Americans' that determine the economy of the country--have abandoned their reliance on armaments and war to keep up high business activity and profits...In the past two years...the U.S. government has spent more than a hundred billions dollars for armaments and war preparedness."

The Worker,  
December 7, 1958, p. 6.

## 2. Defense Industry Officials

"Of special interest is the advance of General Dynamics Corp. to first place in the order of defense contracts last year, with a total of \$1.1 billion. General Dynamics has a more prominent collection of top brass on its boards of directors than any other big armament firm. It includes five admirals, generals and atomic energy officials."

"ITS PRESIDENT Frank Pace, Jr., was former Secretary of the Army and one of the most arrant propagandists for a bigger military establishment. His company makes the nuclear submarines and obviously has friends in the Pentagon and in Congress. For Congress was induced to appropriate funds for more nuclear subs than the Administration requested."

The Worker,  
November 23, 1958, p. 7.

## 3. Money for Arms

"THE INVESTIGATIONS by officials into the tragedy at Our Lady of Angels school will not reveal the real cause."

"The real cause of this tragedy is to be found in the policy which places arms production above school and housing construction; which cuts appropriations for education and public housing to the bone while continually raising arms expenditures ever higher."

The Worker,  
December 14, 1958, p. 5.



## VIII. MINORITY (NATIONAL AND RACIAL) GROUPS

1. The Federal Government must end the condition of "second-class citizenship" of Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Indians, and Jewish people.
2. The Federal Government, by means of its troops and law enforcement agencies, should protect the rights of Negroes.
3. Negroes suffer most in the recession.
4. The appointment of Marian Anderson to the United Nations delegation of this country is an honor to a single Negro, not a recognition of Negro equality.
5. The Jim Crow system of persecution and terror can drive Negroes to tragic violence.
6. The reign of bombing terror in the South shows an American type of Nazism directed against Negroes, Jews, and others.
7. Administration committees in the civil rights field have failed to defend the rights of Negroes.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. End "Second-Class Citizenship"

"It is the responsibility of government to 'move speedily and effectively to get rid of conditions which keep colored people or any other people, Puerto Ricans, Indians, Jews or what have you 'in a status of second-class citizenship. '

"It's the duty and responsibility of government to prevent such conditions from arising. It is the responsibility of government to use all the power at its command to wipe out such conditions should they by some 'tour de force' arise.

"The government that fails in this becomes a party to 'racial discrimination and segregation' --and they become a policy of government. Such a government must undergo a fundamental change if it is to 'wipe out the last vestiges of discrimination and segregation', to say nothing of the first fruits of these evils.

"THE EXISTING 'conditions which keep colored people in a status of second-class citizenship' are political, economic and cultural. Their existence exposes the bankruptcy of capitalist democracy. It is a democracy that cheats millions of their heritage, a democracy of evil men seeking super-profits through the exploitation of millions, a democracy that sustains ghetto-life with the terrifying tensions and frustrations that crush the soul of youth. It is a democracy of racial hate and religious bigotry. These are in part the evils that make for war."

The Worker,  
July 27, 1958, p. 10.

## 2. Federal Protection of Negro Rights

"The opposition of the White Citizens Council mobsters to integrated education for Negro children thus reveals itself to be, in its more fundamental aspects, 'war on the Constitution' and war on education. Both reek of the slave system, of the slaveholders' war against the Union, and of the slaveholders' belief that the slave should not be educated.

"It is high time that the flouting of the Constitution and of the Supreme Court decisions were brought to an emphatic halt. The Supreme Court made it plain: 'the constitutional rights' of the Negro children 'are not to be sacrificed or yielded to violence and disorder' of mobs, or governors, or state legislatures.

"The decisive move lies in the hands of the President. Let the Federal troops be used to restrain and repress the violence of the Faubuses and Almonds.

"Let every political leader be called on to join in the demand for federal action..."

Editorial, The Worker,  
October 5, 1958, p. 2.

"THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE committee of the Communist Party last week issued an urgent 'call to action' for defense of the civil rights of the Negro people. In a statement issued over the signature of James E. Jackson, party secretary for Negro affairs, the CP urged: 'Stop segregationists' outrages against Negroes! Uphold constitutional rights!'"

.....

"The Eisenhower administration, in an outrageous manifestation of racist bias, has left the Negro people and the Negro school children totally unprotected in the exercise of their lawful Constitutional rights...."

.....

"The Eisenhower Administration is bent upon a continuing course of appeasing the Southern bloc of Dixiecrats, of preserving their unholy alliance with Wall Street Republicanism as the base for control of Congress in the interest of the monopolists at home and abroad."

.....

"... We call upon our fellow citizens individually and through the Trade Unions, the Churches and all democratic organizations of the people to use all appropriate means to impose their demand upon President Eisenhower, the Department of Justice, the Congressmen and Senators.

"To intervene in defense of the rights of the Negro people in the struggle against the backward looking, reactionary forces of the southern segregationists.

"To support a full program of federal law enforcement in the Southern states to secure the rights of the Negro people.

"To demand the imprisonment of Faubus and his ilk, of the White Citizens Council leaders, and of the KKK chieftains.

"To manifest solidarity with the embattled school children and Negro freedom fighters in the Deep South by militant demonstrations directed at compelling Governmental action to protect the Negro people of the South in the exercise of their rights.

"To concert the full strength of the Negro people, with a maximum of Labor, Church and Student support in a nationwide 'No-Work Holiday for Freedom NOW.'

"To develop grass roots and community action of all kinds to raise this struggle to the level of a continuing countrywide crusade until complete victory is achieved."

The Worker,  
September 14, 1958, p. 16.

3. Negroes in Recession

"Greatest sufferers in this recession situation here in Michigan are Negro families, victims of discrimination that fires them first, rehires them last and forces them to pay the highest slums....

"A program to meet this is needed. It could be building housing, highways, clearing away Detroit's horrible slums, granting unemployment compensation for the duration of a workers idleness; controls on prices; trade with Socialist nations to create jobs; and an end to expenditures for war."

The Worker,  
August 24, 1958, p. 12.

4. Honor but Not Equality for Negroes

"MARIAN ANDERSON has been placed by the Eisenhower government and its monopoly directors upon its delegation to the United Nations. That is a

studied gesture calculated to deceive millions of Negroes who desperately want to believe that this government's attitude toward them and the millions of colored peoples of the world is undergoing a fundamental change.

"Denied equality of opportunity in every phase of national life, forced to live amidst the monstrous frustrations and tensions of the ghetto; outrageously discriminated against by private and government business agencies; restricted through illegal laws and terror from voting for other than those candidates who are handpicked by racist parties the Negro people naturally are proud if one of theirs is selected for what seems an honor.

"But a government guilty of such crimes against a people can confer no honor upon it short of freedom and equality....."

"THE 'HONORING' of a single Negro by this government generally hides an attempt to compromise a people...."

The Worker,  
August 24, 1958, p. 3.

##### 5. Jim Crow System Brings Violence

"THE ATTACK upon Reverend Martin Luther King was a shocking outrage."

"The tragedy of this act was that it was committed by the hand of a Negro woman...."

"Naturally the Faubuses, White Citizens Council and Ku Kluxers will try to twist the fact that this occurred in Harlem to divert protests from the brutal anti-Negro terror in the South. But this attempt will fail. In fact, the Southern lynch system is the source of jim crow and segregation against Negroes all over the country, North, East and West."

"THE TRAGIC ROLE of this woman should serve as an example of what the atmosphere of red-baiting and FBI hounding of innocent people can drive people to do. The Negro people are a disciplined, staunch people. It is surprising that more of them are not driven to irrational behavior by virtue of the unceasing persecutions and psychological terror which the jim crow system imposes upon them.

"The Negro people in particular have to maintain a constant vigil in view of the fact that the white jim crow oppressors attempt to use Negroes to do their dirty work against the Negro people and their militant leaders."

The Worker,  
September 28, 1958, p. 16.

6. American Nazism in South

"Bombings in the South continue--and spread... Terror against Jews inevitably goes hand-in-hand with terror against Negroes, and Roy Wilkins, NAACP head, could well say that the South's racial situation was similar to the rise of Hitler in Germany."

"YES, THE SOUTH is more than reminiscent of Hitler on the ascendant. Governmental compliance with terror is evident here, as it has been ever since it failed to act against those like Faubus, who flout the Supreme Court's desegregation decision."

Editorial, The Worker,  
October 19, 1958, p. 2.

"SINCE JAN. 1, 1957, there have been 47 bombings of churches, public schools, synagogues and other such places in the south.

"It was a wide-flung, skilfully organized terror campaign, that doubtlessly employed many skilled publicists, directors of timing, chemists, veteran goons and bombers, and the like. Hundreds were involved, and thousands must know their names...."

"Some wealthy leaders tried to evade the issue of integration; a few even joined the White Citizen Councils. But a number of Rabbis bravely spoke out in favor of integration. They taught their people that the defence of Jewish civil rights begins with the defence of all other minorities.

"Some of the White Council Jews tried to force the expulsion of these Rabbis. The congregations, to many of whom such a stand took on a personal and financial cost, rallied behind their courageous Rabbis and won the day.

"The salvation of the Jewish people, like that of the Negro people, lies only in the progressive camp. Fascism is their mortal enemy, and everything that leads to fascism is like a snake sliding through jungle grass with fangs aimed at the heart."

The Worker,  
November 16, 1958, p. 8.

#### 7. Administration Hoax on Civil Rights

"THE CIVIL RIGHTS Commission has been a farce and a fiction so far as its protection of any right of any single Negro in the nation is concerned....

"No less a travesty has been the President's Committee on Government Contracts. In five years since 1955 this body has had before it 60 complaints of Negroes who charged discrimination in employment by monopoly firms battered by the people's tax monies. Of the 69 complaints not one has been processed or 'resolved' by the committee.

"Both these committees serve as gigantic hoaxes perpetrated by the Administration to give the appearance of defense of the rights of the Negro people while it does the bidding of their exploiters. They must be exposed as such. The popular wrath must blast them into the action they were set up to perform."

The Worker,  
July 6, 1958, p. 16.

## IX. EDUCATION

1. Soviet as well as Red Chinese educational accomplishments are a challenge to the failings of the United States educational system.
2. The aim of American higher education is to prepare students to "deal with" the growing military and economic might of the Soviet Union.
3. There is no organized "left" outlook among college students.
4. Parents should spur school officials in seeking Federal aid to education.
5. Southern States continue to defy the United States Supreme Court decision on integration of schools by legal schemes, mob action, and bombings.
6. School officials act against suspended teachers despite teacher shortage.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Soviet and Red Chinese Educational Progress

"AND IF THE EDUCATIONAL accomplishments of the USSR lay down the sharpest challenge to our own neglects and defaults, and call upon us to examine more deeply all the presuppositions on which our school systems rest--from size of classes and pay for teachers to the most fundamental questions of curriculum, and of extra-curricular activity--if this is so, then what shall we say of the dazzling boldness and freshness with which the Chinese are breaking ground for wholly new areas of educational progress?"

The Worker,  
October 26, 1958, p. 10.



2. Colleges Prepare Students To "Deal with" Russia

"...Two weeks ago, the American Council on Education held its 41st annual meeting....

"At this meeting, in Chicago, some 800 college presidents and administrators were present. In his keynote address, Dr. Virgil M. Hancher, president of the State University of Iowa, condemned 'the great American vice of water-bugging--the search for the quick and easy solution--the tendency to skip along the surface of things instead of breaking into the depths below.'

"...In the name of what did he call for change from the 'schools, colleges and universities of 25 year ago, ...the very institutions that did not prepare the present adult generation to deal with the problems of integration, the Middle East, of Quemoy and Matsu?' "

"Is it with MORE ignorance, MORE arrogance, MORE hostility that this educational policy-maker would have us replace the obvious weaknesses of our colleges, not only of 25 years ago, but of today as well? Apparently it is, since what he would now have the colleges prepare their students to 'deal with' is 'the rapidly expanding military and economic might of Russia, and the threat of the appalling weight of numbers in the People's Republic of China.' "

The Worker,  
October 26, 1958, p. 10.

3. No Organized "Left" Outlook among College Students

"...there is an appalling lack of effective avenues of expression for the demands and needs of college students--and an even more terrible absence of organized Left outlook among them..."

The Worker,  
October 26, 1958, p. 10.

4. Federal Aid to Education

"Federal aid to school construction, for instance, which made its biggest advance last year, only to die a-bornin', is this year seemingly not even a gleam in a Congressman's eye. And this in a recession year, with the needs of jobless workers added on to the long time needs of schoolless children...

"IT IS INTERESTING that at least two end-of-year teacher conferences have brought to light how feeble a role educators have been playing in this regard...."

"Isn't it time that parents started putting forward those demands which up to now have mainly come from educators and those specially interested? Is there any other area so truly 'everybody's business'?"

The Worker,  
July 27, 1958, p. 10.

5. Southern States Defy Integration Order

"Four years after the Supreme Court's ruling as to the illegality of segregation in the schools, the eleven Southern states have admitted less than one hundred Negro children into schools from which they were barred by virtue of their color. Every one of these states is busily engaged in legal schemes, propaganda and mob incitations to circumvent and defy the federal law in this regard."

The Worker,  
September 14, 1958, p. 16.

"New Yorkers join with all other democratic-minded Americans in condemning the continued obstructions put forward by Governors, Legislatures and school officials in some Southern states to defeat the law of the land on

school desegregation. They call upon the President of the United States to lend the full prestige and authority of his office to fulfilling the intent of the Supreme Court's decisions, and to making swift and complete desegregation of public schools in the South a matter not only of legality, but of the very moral foundations of our democracy."

The Worker,  
September 21, 1958, p. 7.

"AS HE LOOKED at the ruins of Clinton High School, Principal W. D. Human said, 'I just don't understand it. Everything seemed to be going along so well.' Two years earlier nine Negro children had been admitted to the previously all-white school.

"The principal's confusion is understandable. What barbarism could give birth to such a crime? Where else in the world -- excepting South Africa--would a school of 850 pupils be destroyed to prevent ten colored children from receiving an education there?

"The source of the crime does not lie in Clinton, Tenn. It lies in Little Rock and in Virginia. It lies in the state houses of the seven Southern states which have refused, in defiance of the Constitution and the Supreme Court, to integrate a single Negro child into the all-white school system.

"To these enemies of the Constitution, to Governors Faubus and Almond, President Eisenhower has said 'Go slow,' muttering pious phrases about the laws of the land. But he has taken no step to quell the criminals.

"They have carried out the dictates of the White Citizens Councils, and the wishes of the Eastlands and the Faubuses, --with dynamite."

Editorial, The Worker,  
October 12, 1958, p. 2.

6. Teacher Shortage

"In New York City, it is teachers--experienced, capable, admired and cherished by students and colleagues alike--who are even now in the position of being available 'for anything but teaching.' It is more than three years since five were suspended from the public school system, because they refused to inform on others as the price of keeping their jobs.

"In the face of a clear-cut crisis in the quantity and quality of New York City's teaching personnel, our school officials not only make no move to correct this, but even prepare new and more shameful legal moves to ensure that the suspended five will not be able to return to the schools. What is the measure of 'defense of our school building program' in a case like this?"

The Worker,  
November 30, 1958, p. 10.

## X. CULTURE, SCIENCE, AND RELIGION

1. The Nobel Prize winning novel, Doctor Zhivago, by the Soviet writer, Boris Pasternak, is not only an attack on socialism but is a "poorly written" book.
2. The exchange agreement for United States and Soviet films extends the scope of cultural relations between the two countries.
3. Writers in the Soviet Union have freedom in their efforts and are not forced to conform to commercialism as writers in the United States.
4. The Marxist writer must show the workers their power.
5. Socialism creates the material conditions for realization of the Christian social creed.
6. Jesus, who was a people's leader, would probably be arrested as an atheist agitator if he preached his socialism today.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Doctor Zhivago Attacks Socialism

"EVERY REACTIONARY force, every enemy not only of socialism but social progress in general, in this country and the rest of the world, has joined in the attempt to use the Boris Pasternak award to heat up the cold war. Not only the so-called literary experts but gentlemen of the press and other apologists of imperialism who never heard of Boris Pasternak before and have not read a single line he has written, including Doctor Zhivago, are busy telling the world that he is the greatest writer Russia ever produced and that the criticism levelled against him by the writers in the Soviet Union, justifies their hate campaign against the land of socialism."

"As to the attitude of the Soviet people to 'Doctor Zhivago.' They see a book, which, irrespective of its literary aspect, is an open attack not only on socialism but on the very foundations of science and a scientific view of history. Is not their attitude quite understandable, now over forty years after the great liberating revolution? Especially when they still find themselves surrounded not only by ideological enemies but by bases from which atomic missiles can be launched against them by those who have never given up the goal of destroying the socialist world."

Editorial, The Worker,  
November 9, 1958, p. 11.

"THE NOBEL PRIZE for Literature was not awarded this year! Instead, the conservative critics of the Swedish Academy have awarded their laurels to Cold War propaganda and have forsaken literature.

"Were it for the pure and fragile poetry of Boris Pasternak alone, or his translations of the classics, the old, musty academicians would never have given the Soviet author the prize; for no Soviet author has ever been given a Nobel Prize! Were Pasternak's 'Doctor Zhivago' read as a literary work the Swedish Academy would have yawned it away...."

" 'DOCTOR ZHIVAGO' is an incredibly poorly written book.

"It is written in an archaic style. Not, by the author's choice. Rather by his inability to master his own theme. The story is incoherent. Characters wander in and out with neither rhyme nor reason and even Pasternak often is confused and loses them... The philosophy of Zhivago is forced on the book, artificially and falsely. Never does it naturally flow from the story. Awkward with letters and 'diaries,' that presumably explain the story to the reader, where the story does not, 'Doctor Zhivago' is an inept, bad book."

The Worker,  
November 9, 1958, p. 11.

2. U.S. —Soviet Film Exchange Agreement

"All advocates of peaceful co-existence were happy to read that 'Marty' and 'The Old Man of the Sea', and other films are going to Moscow; and that 'Swan Lake' and 'The Captain's Daughter' are coming here, according to an exchange agreement between the U.S. and Soviet film industries."

"IMPORTANT as is this development to movie-lovers, it has even greater connotations. It extends the scope of the cultural relations that have been developed by visits of such artists as the 'Porgy and Bess' troupe, or the Moiseyev dancers, or musicians like Gilels and Oistrakh and Stokowski and Van Cliburn. There have also been exchanges in the medical, scientific, architectural and other fields."

Editorial, The Worker,  
October 19, 1958, p. 2.

3. Soviet Writers Free of Commercialism

"FREE OF THE MOSQUITOES of the publishing houses, the businessmen of the literary marketplace, the agents, the advertising agency 'critics,' the fad lovers of the cocktail party set, writers in the Soviet Union stand like poets of ancient Greece in the center of the social and political arena.

"In the Soviet Union the writer is free as one whose art creates history. This 'freedom is the recognition of necessity.' This is Socialism's freedom."

The Worker,  
November 23, 1958, p. 10.

"IS THE 'Profit Motive Alone Dictating Policies and Behavior Patterns' on television, asks 'VARIETY'; '...is profit and loss the sole motivation in burying 'See It Now?', for example? Yet, 'VARIETY' dare not answer it's own question for it knows the answer is -- yes!

"Creative television writing or acting or directing would by definition have to examine, satirize, and challenge the fables and fakes of our way of life. That's what would make it creative. This is obviously impossible on a show sponsored by say, General Motors, on which no one dare criticize an auto fin, much less mention automation or speed-up in the motor plants..."

The Worker,  
September 28, 1958, p. 10.

"There has been a Bohemia since capitalism began. It is caused by the ignoble status of the artist in a society that lives only by money making. The honest artist who refuses to conform to commercialism must become a pariah. Their rebellion comes out of physical hunger and spiritual humiliation, the same causes that create revolutions of oppressed workers and peasants, Negroes, Arabs, and other oppressed minorities. The honest artist and writer under capitalism form an oppressed minority."

The Worker,  
October 5, 1958, p. 8.

#### 4. Duty of Marxist Writer

"...It is the highest duty of the Marxist writer, in this age of international gangsters, to remind the workers of their Bunyanesque stature; to give them back the image of themselves, recall to them their power...."

"Books in Review," Mainstream,  
August, 1958, p. 55.

#### 5. Christian Social Creed

"...Claude Lightfoot, Illinois chairman of the Communist Party, addressed a meeting of 60 persons of different religious faiths..."



"Lightfoot explained that only Socialism can create the material conditions in which the ideals and aspirations of the Christian social creed can be realized. He urged unity in the fight for peaceful co-existence and desegregation and to combat the effects of the depression."

The Worker,  
December 7, 1958, p. 14.

6. Jesus Preached Socialism

"JESUS was perhaps a myth. But he was the people's myth--a carpenter and son of the Jewish folk. Some historians believe he was one of the leaders of an underground trade union movement. The Jews had formed it as means of resistance to the Roman imperialists who occupied their country. A great deal of church politics has been written into the New Testament. Yet the fundamental story remains, the passion and death of a people's leader. The poetry is marvellous, a culmination of that ethical nobility which is the chief contribution of the Jews to man's history. Jesus would probably be arrested as an atheist agitator today if he preached his socialism."

The Worker,  
December 28, 1958, p. 8.

## XI. WOMEN

1. Women workers face a loss of jobs and a cut in pay with rising unemployment.
2. Day care centers should be provided for the benefit of working mothers.
3. The insults to women in the "womanpower" campaign may ironically end in women demanding more and better schools and peaceful coexistence.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Loss of Jobs

"... With rising unemployment, there are growing efforts to eliminate women workers regardless of seniority provisions, to disregard special safety and health standards, and to cut wages. The many women in the poorly paid service occupations are subjected to especially severe exploitation. This is especially true of large numbers of Negro women workers. A vigorous fight must be waged against all these evils."

National Committee, CPUSA, "A Policy for American Labor," Political Affairs, August, 1958, p. 5.

#### 2. Benefits for Working Women

"... Provide job training program and opportunities for the youth, the unemployed and women workers with special attention to the full rights of Negro and Puerto Rican workers. Provide day care centers for children of working women."

The Worker,  
October 5, 1958, p. 4.

3. Insult to Women

"... The Ladies' Home Journal\*... is making a fortune... By insulting their entire female audience, circulation has grown and grown... Apparently nothing succeeds like an excess of insults... We are a nation not of Moms but of masochists....

"... It all revolves around this key word womanpower\*...."

"... Do you suppose the campaign has a Machiavellian long-range plan in mind? To insult us all to the point where we'll get mad enough to stand up and use our human power to demand a few long overdue family rights--like more and better schools for our children, day care centers, recreation programs for teen-agers, horrorless TV shows and foreign policy, and wages, hours and peaceful co-existence suitable for both sexes?"

Eve Merriam, "Womanpowership,"  
Mainstream, December, 1958, pp. 1, 2.

\* Underlined portion is italicized in the original text.

## XII. YOUTH

1. Marxists should renew contacts with youth.
2. Teenagers in summer farm work face exploitation in this country.
3. Young people are hard hit by the recession and need special Federal aid.
4. The real cause of juvenile delinquency is the capitalist "dog eat dog" way of life.
5. The "beatniks" represent nonconformity which is a first step to a world of socialism.

### SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

#### 1. Marxist Contacts with Youth

"It is time for the radical movement to renew its contact with the youth. Try to understand their problems, their manner of thinking. Every generation is different from the one that went before it. They cannot be the same, because the conditions they must face are not the same.

"This generation has grown up under the shadow of the H-Bomb, and of McCarthyism and of the terrible sabotage of Marxism that has split the radical movement and scared off the youth. They can find no alternatives today to cynical acceptance of the Cold War profiteering system. They are 'rebels without a cause.' Their one law of existence has been: Distrust everything.

"Learn to speak to them. Above all, learn to listen. Our press should encourage them to express their feelings and needs, however foolish we may think the philosophy. Youth forums -- youth discussion everywhere. Thousands of young bewildered Americans wait for some clear and understanding word from their elders. The ground is ready for the seed.

"The great torch of socialism must not be allowed to fall in America...."

The Worker,  
July 27, 1958, p. 8.

"...a Marxist youth group is the 'Order of the Day.' "

The Worker,  
September 7, 1958, p. 11.

## 2. Exploitation of Teenagers

"IT IS REGRETTABLE that the opportunities for summer farm work for the young teenager is not organized and supervised as they are for example, in the Soviet Union where a whole school class, with teachers, goes to a collective farm to work, and their social life and leisure fun is organized, supervised, and integrated into the life of the village collective.

"The farm cadet program in our country (although jobs are secured through the schools) is a private employer-employee relationship, and parents would do well to check thoroughly both on the conditions of work (the exploitation is reported to be quite fierce in some cases), and on available forms and facilities for social life."

The Worker,  
July 20, 1958, p. 7.

## 3. Recession Affects Youth

"...Young people are especially hard hit by depression....Special measures in behalf of youth are needed, such as federally-financed training programs, without discrimination and under trade union supervision and

control, as well as extension of unemployment compensation to those entering the labor market and unable to find work."

National Committee, CPUSA, "A  
Policy for American Labor,"  
Political Affairs, August, 1958, p. 5.

"YOUTH is dismayed. The absence of any program adequate to its economic and cultural needs and remedial of crime and juvenile delinquency confounds it...."

The Worker,  
October 26, 1958, p. 15.

4. Capitalism Is Cause of Juvenile Delinquency

"HOLLYWOOD films, TV crime newspaper headlines, adult society, and horseracing--which is the cause? Ironically, none...All are symptoms of the cause of delinquency, not the sickness. The sickness is our dog eat dog 'way of life', alias, Capitalism."

The Worker,  
September 7, 1958, p. 6.

"...Our economic, political, and cultural crises have vulgarized and brutalized large sections of youth and adults alike."

The Worker,  
July 20, 1958, p. 11.

5. "Beatniks" Represent Nonconformity

"BOHEMIA has a long history. It appeared with the bourgeois revolution, when art, like every other human activity, was turned into a

commodity and the artists deprived of the status they had under feudalism. Bohemia is the spontaneous, unorganized, chaotic revolt of young artists against commercialism. . . . Bohemia is a secession from capitalism.

"It is the search of the young, the poor and the utopian for a friendly place that will let them grow. In practical, dollar-obsessed America, young people who want to be artists are made to feel like freaks. So they become defiant to the point of eccentricity.

"The beard and the sandals are their symbolic sneers at the well-barbered flunkeys of the big corporations. But non-conformity is never enough. It is a negation, only a first step to a better world.

"We have reached the turning point of all human history. World suicide hangs over us all, but there is an alternative. It leads to a world of socialism, peace and intellectual glory. The 'beatniks' are unfortunate. They can believe only in the darkness, not in the light.

"... The 'beatniks' have no racist prejudice, and they despise war and its profiteers. They are partisans of the intellect, and the life of the spirit. Let us try to understand this youth in all its troubles."

The Worker,  
July 6, 1958, p. 8.